MARCH 21
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NEW MASSES

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JOHN L. SPIVAK EXPOSES

The Secret Plot Against America

FIRST OF A SERIES

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

THE Spivak series, opening in this issue, marks the first major editorial project of the magazine for 1944. We hope to repeat in various fields—both on the domestic as well as the international scene.

This series was made possible only through your help. Were it not for our readers we would have been unable to publish this expose, would have been unable to help America focus the spotlight on its concealed enemies here at home.

It's this kind of service we want to do every week, in one form or another. And with your assistance we hope sometime soon to be able to strike hard—at maximum—*every* week.

But we can do this only through your conscious, organized, consistent help. It can be done only by raising the funds necessary to see NM through its financial obligations, which, this year, add up to $40,000.

The tempo of our fund drive? In brief, it's all too slow. We know, or believe we know, the reason for its retarded tempo this week—March 15 moved up on us inexorably and we have no notion of competing with the tax collector.

But we do have to compete with the creditor. And *we*—means *you*—as well as us here in the office.

Your magazine is running into dangerous waters. The drive to date has netted NM only $9,000. Our commitments were made on the basis that we would have $28,000 by May. That means we still have $19,000 to go in these next two months. That's not counting the additional $12,000 imperative for promotional needs—both editorial and otherwise.

So, a word to the wise. . . . Have you sent NM your annual check yet? Have you earmarked it on your budget? Have you talked to your NM-reading friends and urged them to speed their contributions? Have you arranged some parties for NM to help raise the funds to see 1944 through?

We're waiting—somewhat anxiously by now—for your answer.

MANY of our readers have been complaining about the absence of Richard O. Boyer's column—"If This Be Reason." The author's ill health has interfered with its regular appearance, and he assures us that he is as anxious as anybody to get back into NM harness again. Joseph North's page, "I Give You My Word," will be appearing again in an early issue.

THIS is a hearty thank-you note. And we mean it to include all those who made possible NM's most successful art show ever held. That means the artists, and the 350 persons who came to buy paintings at our annual New York art auction held at the ACA Galleries, 63 East 57th Street, New York March 5.

Item: the number of participating artists was greater than ever before.

Item: the number of persons who bought paintings was greater than ever before.

Item: a number of outstanding European refugee artists displayed their works at the show.

Result: a major art event of the year, something to which both artists and readers look forward.

We may announce now that plans are under way to hold a repeat performance elsewhere in the country: in Hollywood, and possibly in San Francisco.

PHILADELPHIA friends of NM are holding a social this Saturday evening, March 18, at 8:30 at which the guests of honor will be NM associate editor A. B. Magil, Arthur Huff Fauset, noted Negro writer, and Samuel Putnam, distinguished critic and translator. The affair will be held at Rittenhouse Dining Room, 238 S. 18th St. There will be entertainment, music, dancing and refreshments.

IT WOULD do your heart good to see the letters that are pouring into our office these days. We have always urged our readers to let us know what they are thinking about—both about the magazine as well as things in general. We wish we had two pages to spare for Readers' Forum each week: we do our best to allot a page regularly for this purpose. Here, on this page, we would like to reprint a sampling of the letters coming in these days during the annual financial drive—most of them notes that accompany the contributions. They come from a cross-section of the country—students, doctors, seamen, industrial workers, housewives, professionals, soldiers. Here is one of particularly poignant interest:

To NEW MASSES: There was an article in *Digest and Review* entitled "In The Wrack of the Storm," November 1943, condensed from the NEW MASSES, by Si Podolin. I would like very much if you could send me the original story. It was dedicated to my son, John Delehanty, who was lost in the Arctic Sea on a ship to Russia. Sincerely yours, Mrs. Cecilia Delehanty, Cleveland.

Another comes from James Watkins, a Vermont farmer: "Here's twenty-five dollars for your fund drive. Up here where I live it's hard to get at the truth, and I find your magazine a torch in the wilderness, compared with most of the publications I see out here."

And here, a reader from Jamaica, N. Y., encloses a check for thirty dollars for nine gift subs to NM. "I want you to know that in the past year that I have been subscribing to NM, I have found it a source of constant guidance and refreshment. I am sure that each of these new readers will be equally pleased. *You can be sure that I shall renew my own* sub, when it expires this year. I also hope that I shall find it possible to contribute to your sustaining fund.

P.S. I find Alter Brody's articles fascinating. Also Samuel Sillen's. Joseph North's series on America after two years at war is tops. Incidentally, what happened to V. J. Jerome's series on Marxism and the war?"

Editor's Note: We are glad to say that Mr. Jerome is presently finishing another series of articles for NM, which will be announced in detail in an early issue.

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

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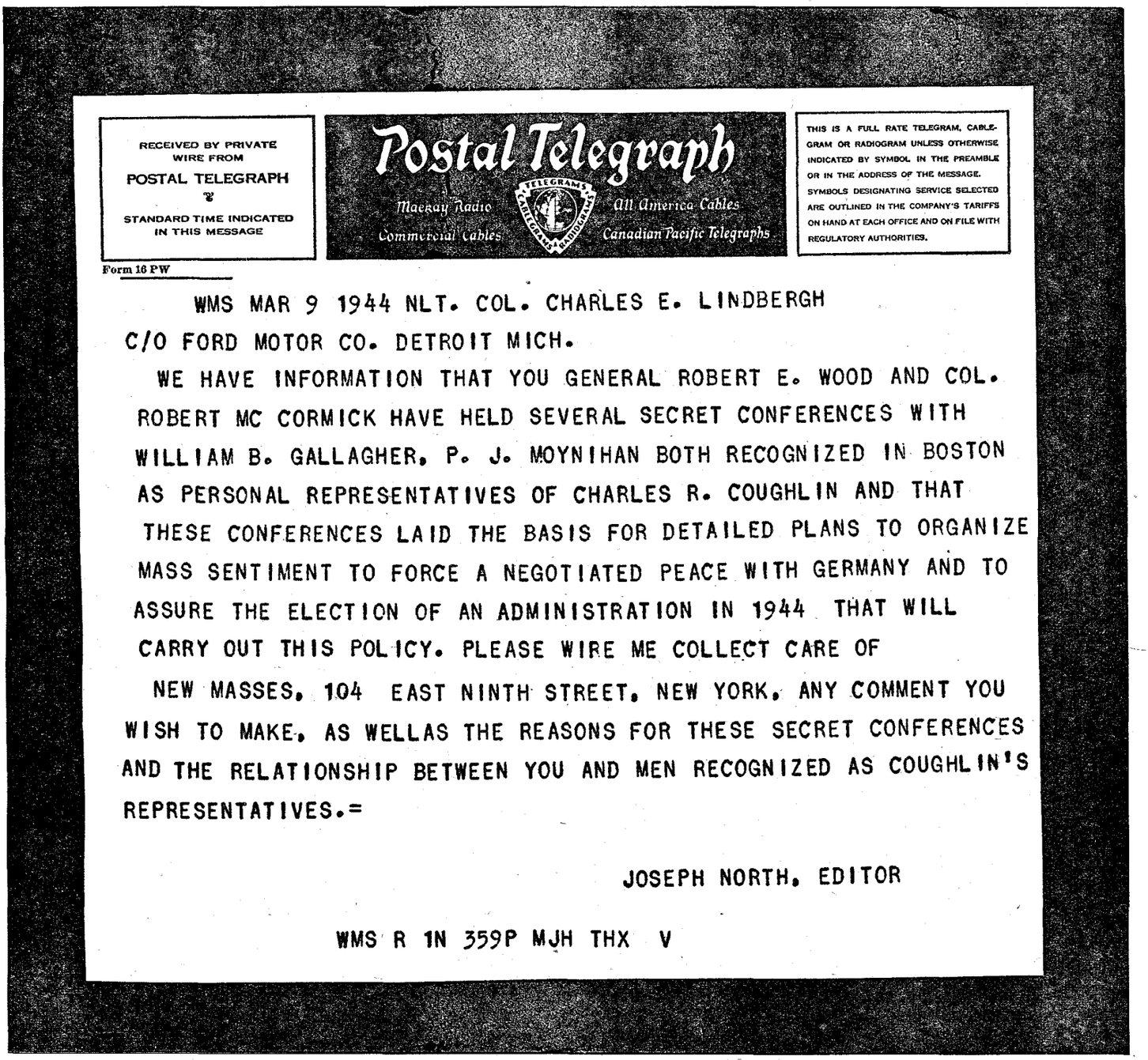
SECRET PLOT AGAINST AMERICA

By JOHN L. SPIVAK



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WMS MAR 9 1944 NLT. COL. CHARLES E. LINDBERGH
C/O FORD MOTOR CO. DETROIT MICH.

WE HAVE INFORMATION THAT YOU GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD AND COL. ROBERT MC CORMICK HAVE HELD SEVERAL SECRET CONFERENCES WITH WILLIAM B. GALLAGHER, P. J. MOYNIHAN BOTH RECOGNIZED IN BOSTON AS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVES OF CHARLES R. COUGHLIN AND THAT THESE CONFERENCES LAID THE BASIS FOR DETAILED PLANS TO ORGANIZE MASS SENTIMENT TO FORCE A NEGOTIATED PEACE WITH GERMANY AND TO ASSURE THE ELECTION OF AN ADMINISTRATION IN 1944 THAT WILL CARRY OUT THIS POLICY. PLEASE WIRE ME COLLECT CARE OF NEW MASSES, 104 EAST NINTH STREET, NEW YORK, ANY COMMENT YOU WISH TO MAKE, AS WELLAS THE REASONS FOR THESE SECRET CONFERENCES AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOU AND MEN RECOGNIZED AS COUGHLIN'S REPRESENTATIVES.=

JOSEPH NORTH, EDITOR

WMS R 1N 359P MJH THX V

The above telegram was also sent to Gen. Robert E. Wood (ret.), former chairman of the America First Committee, and Col. Robert McCormick, publisher of the Chicago "Tribune." Up to press time no reply had been received from Lindbergh or McCormick. See page 10 for the telegram explaining General Wood's failure to reply. Why are Lindbergh and McCormick silent? Is it because they are unable to deny the facts revealed in Spivak's article?

WHEN the American and British armies open the second front in western Europe, another offensive is scheduled to be launched in this country: a campaign to force the United States to negotiate peace with Germany. This plot is being deliberately timed with the opening of the second front because its leaders hope that the inevitably large casualty lists will make the American public more susceptible to their carefully managed propaganda drive. Included in these plans is the proposed use of certain discharged veterans of the present war, action by pressure groups featuring whenever possible deluded mothers whose sons have been killed or wounded, and the formation of a mass base from revived America First, Coughlinite

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and other pro-fascist and defeatist groups. A twin objective of the conspiracy is the defeat of the Roosevelt administration in the 1944 elections. Those involved are playing for the highest stakes in world history, for success would mean that they would decisively influence American and international affairs for perhaps a century to come.

The story starts shortly after the Stalingrad debacle which marked the turning point of the war, when the Nazis' doom became certain. Early in 1943, shortly after the Nazi disaster, Charles A. Lindbergh, who is working for Henry Ford, supposedly in a technical capacity, started holding secret conferences with old America First leaders and United States Senators notorious for their "isolationist" views. Judging by the number of conferences he had in different parts of the country, Lindbergh's "technical" work for Henry Ford seems to be of a very unusual kind. It brings to mind how Fritz Kuhn, while on the Ford payroll as a chemist, travelled about organizing what later became the German-American Bund. Perhaps it is wise to remember that it was Lindbergh's horrendous tales of Nazi "invincibility" and assurances that the Soviet air force was practically impotent, that provided powerful propaganda material for England's Cliveden set in engineering Munich and helped confuse and divide the American public. The Russians called him "a paid Nazi agent."

By March 1943, Gen. Robert E. Wood, former chairman of the America First Committee, who is head of Sears-Roebuck and a director of the National Association of Manufacturers, and Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, had also held a number of conferences with old America First leaders. Talk of a revived America First movement under the old or a new name spread among the heads of chapters and units which had "disbanded" one week after Pearl Harbor. Many of these groups had actually gone "underground" by changing their names to give the impression that they were engaged in patriotic work. The leaders themselves lost little time after the organization publicly "disbanded" in calling quiet little conferences to urge that the various groups be kept intact, though necessarily quiescent, or that they reorganize under different names. Let me give one illustration of the subterfuges adopted.

Is Lindbergh the kind of Ford employe that Fritz Kuhn was? Kuhn worked for years at the Ford River Rouge plant, presumably as a chemist, but he managed to find time to manufacture political arsenic for America under the label of the Nazi Bund. Ford's warm relations with the Nazis date from way back. It would be well for the authorities to find out what he and Lindbergh are up to.

On Dec. 22, 1941, a couple of weeks after Pearl Harbor, an organization calling itself "Gifts for Our Own Boys" established headquarters at 150 Broadway in the heart of New York City's financial district. This outfit was launched so hastily that it did not bother to attempt to get a list of respectable names for its letterheads. A few days later an uptown headquarters was established at the exclusive Plaza Hotel, Fifth Avenue and 50th Street. Obviously there was money behind this movement. The organization's letters announced that the day after Japan attacked us "a group of mothers, wives, sisters, sweethearts and friends of the boys immediately assembled an association to do their part and to influence . . . every other interested person. . . ." The letters continued with the pay-off paragraph:

"A little straight talk is in order at this point. You may not realize that the three large organizations now in the field fall very largely under the influence, and to all practical purposes, under the direction of our government. For this reason many needs of a specialized nature cannot be served—one obvious reason is that our government might be subject to indirect criticism, unless men in the service shared alike in any charitable matters."

Everybody got the idea. The "Gifts For Our Own Boys," besides planning to supply "needs of a specialized nature," apparently also planned to keep Negro and Jew separate from the "Aryan" American fighting at their side. It was the old business of keeping the country divided.

Not all of the America Firsters with whom the "patriotic" new organization communicated immediately realized the need for secrecy, so on Jan. 2, 1942, Mrs. Arthur G. Just of 41-11 Forley Street, Elmhurst, L.I., a gentle and enthusiastic soul, wrote to her "disbanded" America First membership:

"The Jackson Heights-Elmhurst Unit of the disbanded America First Committee will hold a reunion at the Forest Hills Inn, Continental Avenue, Forest Hills, on January 23 at 8 PM. A new organization, 'Gifts For Our Boys,' is being organized and I know you will be in favor of it. The meeting will be informal. A real get-together for old time's sake."

While America Firsters were thus being reorganized under different names, Charles E. Coughlin became

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busy in his own specialized field, which I shall describe in detail next week. The old America First leaders had kept away from him publicly, for he was too notorious as a disseminator of Nazi propaganda. Coughlin, however, had devised ways of keeping in contact with his considerable following and the ex-America First leaders did not want to overlook them. One of the early secret conferences was with men recognized as Coughlin's personal representatives.

One of Coughlin's most trusted followers is William B. Gallagher, superintendent of printing at the Boston Public Library. In the Boston area he is considered Coughlin's personal representative. Gallagher, president of the Jesuit Retreat League, is influential in the Ancient Order of Hibernians as well as in political, Irish, and Catholic circles in the Bay State. He was one of the directors of the America First chapter in Boston and virtually ran it.

In January 1943, when the Nazis began their retreat from the counter-attacking Red Army, Lindbergh sent for Gallagher and the two met secretly in Evanston, Ill. I do not know what they discussed or who else participated, but I do know that shortly after their quiet conference Lindbergh appeared in Washington and called upon Sen. Burton K. Wheeler, who promptly telephoned Sen. Robert Reynolds, chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. The three held a long conference behind locked doors in Wheeler's office. Then Lindbergh disappeared as unobtrusively as he had come and Gallagher returned to Boston.

In the Boston and Brooklyn, N. Y., areas where the Coughlinites were strong, anti-Semitism suddenly began to manifest itself again in outbreaks reminiscent of those which marked Hitler's early days in Germany. The Boston area, which had Coughlinite groups that remained practically intact after the outbreak of the war by assuming patriotic names, became particularly active. It was Coughlin's strongest section in the country.

GALLAGHER, who had met with Lindbergh in January, and Patrick J. Moynihan, another trusted follower of Coughlin, were invited by Gen. Wood and Col. McCormick to come to Chicago for a conference. In the Boston area Moynihan was considered as second in importance to Gallagher as Coughlin's personal representative. Moynihan is president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, of the Clanna-Gael, and active in numerous Irish and political organizations. He had been head of the America First chapter in the area.

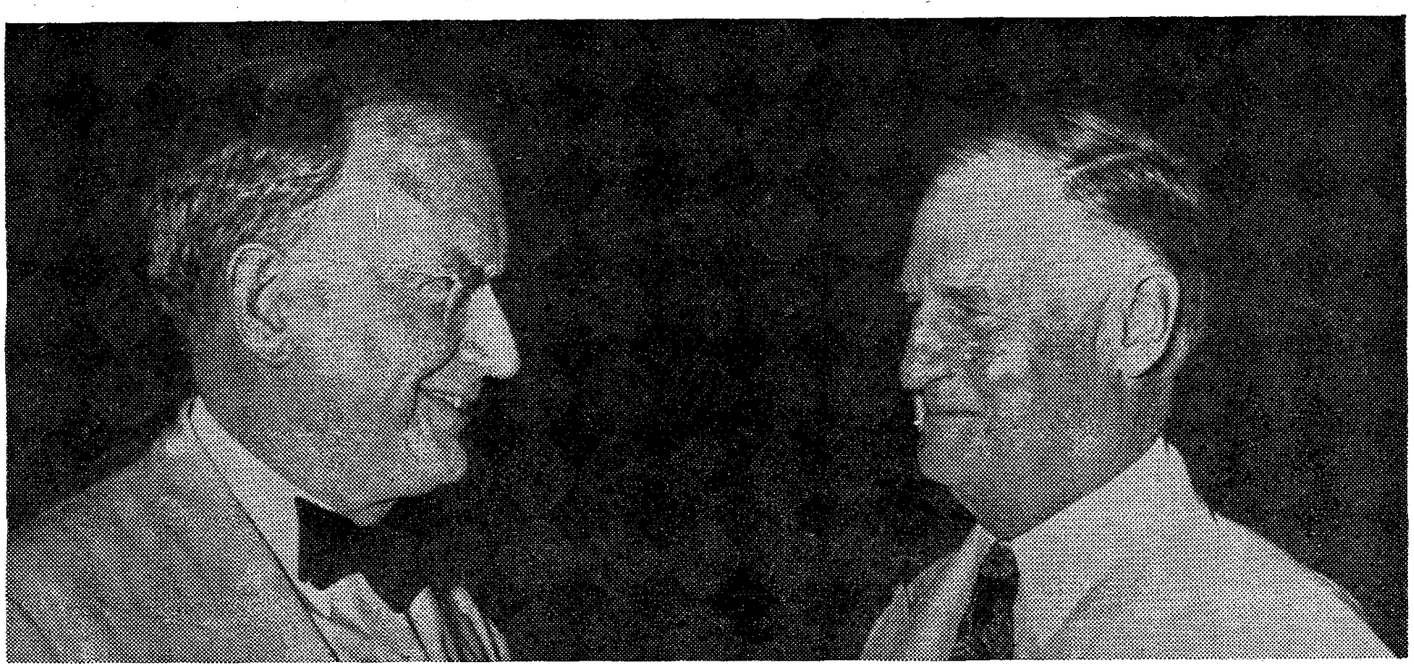
The two went to Chicago for the first of a series of conferences called by Wood and McCormick with Coughlinites. Others included in these conferences were the leaders of mothers' pressure groups, the personal representative of Gerald L. K. Smith for the Chicago area, US Senators, anti-Roosevelt Democrats and anti-Willkie Republicans. All conferences were shrouded in deepest secrecy.

I was particularly anxious to talk to Gallagher, for he and Moynihan had attended some of the longest sessions held with Wood and McCormick, and I went to Boston to see him.

The easiest way to get to the printing division of the Boston Public Library is through the employes' entrance on a side street. There you take an elevator to the sixth floor and at the far end of a vast silent room filled with reference works and library tables is a dark-hued door, behind which are the linotype machines. Gallagher, a well built, clean-cut man in his early forties, looking much like a successful business or professional man, was in his shirt sleeves when I walked in. Except for a hard, fanatical glare which periodically flashes in his eyes, he is rather good looking, I would say. In those moments when the glare appears, the normal, rather pleasant contour of his face changes and you get the feeling that you are in the presence of a ruthless fanatic.

When I introduced myself he looked at me with hard, cold eyes, then suddenly smiled and said, "Sure, I'll give you a little time."

He put on his coat and we went into the almost deserted library and sat at



Senator Burton K. Wheeler and General Robert E. Wood are shown as they appeared together at a pre-Pearl Harbor America First Committee rally in Chicago. They are still carrying on against America first and last.

The quizzical look (right) belongs to the fuehrer of the McCormick-Patterson newspaper axis, Col. Robert McCormick, fairy godfather to seditionists and fascists in all parts of the country. This photo was taken when he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to the lend-lease bill.

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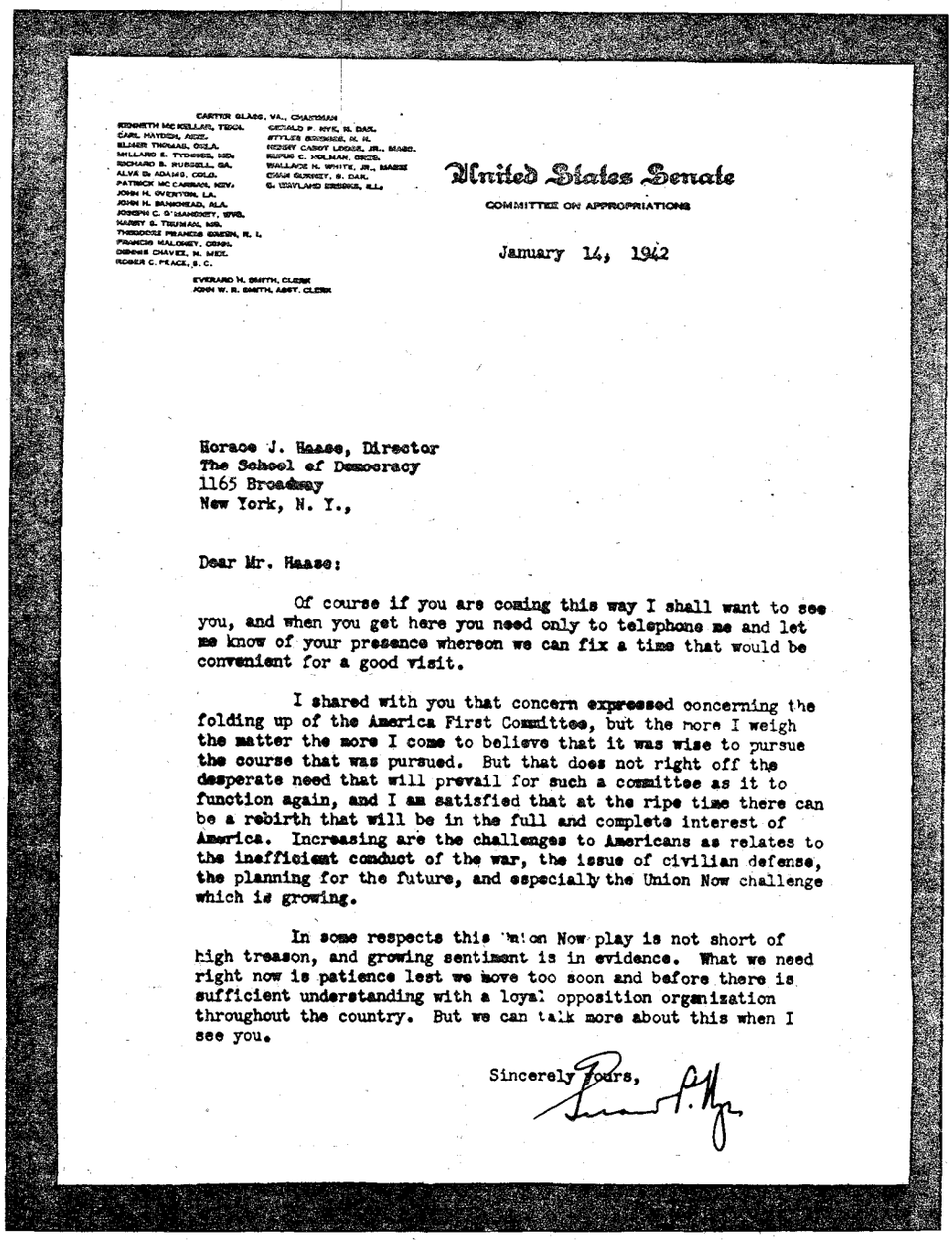

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

January 14, 1942

Horace J. Haase, Director
The School of Democracy
1165 Broadway
New York, N. Y.,

Dear Mr. Haase:

Of course if you are coming this way I shall want to see you, and when you get here you need only to telephone me and let me know of your presence whereon we can fix a time that would be convenient for a good visit.

I shared with you that concern expressed concerning the folding up of the America First Committee, but the more I weigh the matter the more I come to believe that it was wise to pursue the course that was pursued. But that does not right off the desperate need that will prevail for such a committee as it to function again, and I am satisfied that at the ripe time there can be a rebirth that will be in the full and complete interest of America. Increasing are the challenges to Americans as relates to the inefficient conduct of the war, the issue of civilian defense, the planning for the future, and especially the Union Now challenge which is growing.

In some respects this Union Now play is not short of high treason, and growing sentiment is in evidence. What we need right now is patience lest we move too soon and before there is sufficient understanding with a loyal opposition organization throughout the country. But we can talk more about this when I see you.

Sincerely yours,

Sen. Gerald P. Nye, as this letter shows, thought it was wise for the America First Committee to fold up after we entered the war, confident that "at the ripe time there can be a rebirth." The ripe time for these fascists-first, it was agreed in their secret conferences, was when the casualty lists begin rolling in from the invasion of Europe. Haase, co-worker of the Senator and the other ghouls in their conspiracy against America, is now doing a three-year stretch for refusing to fight for his country when it was attacked. But the Senator is busy perfecting the "loyal opposition organization throughout the country" to which he alludes.

the table nearest the printing section.

"If you don't mind," I said, "I'd like to take notes. I want to quote you as accurately as possible."

"By all means," he said courteously.

I knew that decisions had been made to try to make the chief issue in the coming presidential campaign "nationalism" versus "internationalism." For a half hour we talked about "nationalist" sentiment (which he defined as "the point at which we refuse to fight other countries' wars") and its probable effect upon the coming presidential campaign. There was restrained intensity in his speech and he hopped from one subject to another as if his mind worked too quickly to give him a chance to express his thoughts, or as if he was unable to think consecutively for more than a few moments about a particular subject. There was a hard bitterness when specific things that he hated were brought up, especially England. There was even more hatred in his voice when he mentioned England than when he mentioned Russia. He talked with disarming frankness about isolationist sentiment, "which has not changed since Pearl Harbor." When I asked if any effort was being made to unite the various "nationalistic" groups for the coming political campaign, he began automatically, "In various parts of the country there has been—" and stopped abruptly as if he realized he was about to say something he shouldn't. He hesitated and began again: "Not so much an effort to unite them, no. The sentiment is based on a slow growth of feeling."

"But a feeling has to be organized to achieve political power; otherwise it can easily be dissipated. Aren't the 'nationalist' leaders opposing Roosevelt and Willkie as 'internationalists' capitalizing on this feeling?"

"New York State showed the trend," he said vaguely. "There was concerted action."

It was quite apparent that he was unwilling to admit that there was any effort being made to organize the former isolationists and I tried another approach:

"What strength do you estimate these 'nationalist' forces could muster throughout the country for the campaign?"

"When the America First Committee disbanded it had 20,000,000 members—" he began.

"Are you sure?" I interrupted. "I know you were one of the leading officials around here and close to General Wood, but 20,000,000! That's more than enough to start a third party and really have a chance at the presidency!"

"Twenty million," he repeated earnestly.

"I went into it when it was at the height of its activity," I said, shaking my head in disagreement, "and I doubt if it had more than one million tops."

"Twenty million," he repeated, the glare popping into his eyes. "Twenty million," he said again as if the figure hypnotized him. "Some five million just signed. The other fifteen million knew what they were doing—and they can be banded together again on very short notice. Forty-eight hours, if necessary! But Americans don't like third parties. They prefer to do things through the established ones."

"Then the idea is to use the strength you can muster for a balance of power strategy?"

"That's right."

"In both major parties?"

"The parents of service men—that's what I'm interested in—" he began without any question from me along this line, and then promptly shut up.

I was jotting down some notes when he unexpectedly came out with that and I continued as if I had not heard it:

"What happened to the America First Committee groups around Boston after Pearl Harbor?"

"We dissolved," he said hesitantly, "for the duration. But the old sentiment still remains. It's the sentiment we're working with for the '44 campaign."

"You said the old America First members could be got together on very short notice. Are you still functioning, let's say, under different names?"

"We did not continue to function," he said quickly. Since that sounded a bit incredible because of his flat statement that they could be got together on very short notice, he added, "Oh, the old America Firsters and their sympathizers met occasionally in homes or at banquets and so kept in touch with each other. But the

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meetings were accidental. They did not meet as groups."

"Do you think the old America Firsters will form the nucleus of the 'nationalist' movement?"

"I think there's a possibility," he said cautiously. "I'd rather say that America First sentiment could be got together again." He was lost in thought for a moment and then added as if speaking to himself, "The old America First groups will play a great part after the war."

"In what way?"

"In formulating foreign policy, whether it be military, political, or economic."

"What form would that take?"

"First it will be political," he said with the definiteness of decisions already made. "And by political, I mean the physical make-up of the Congress—the House and the Senate."

"You mean that your plans consider that no matter who gets into the White House, if you can control enough Senators, you can put over those treaties you want and emasculate those you don't?"

He looked at me steadily and then slowly nodded. "I can't quote a nod," I said.

"We're going to have people in at the peace conference," he said determinedly. "We're going to leave our effect upon treaties."

"You mean the coming peace conference with Germany?"

"Certainly," he said. "We'll start with that."

"And to whom would you look for leadership in this 'nationalist' movement? McCormick, Wood, Lindbergh?"

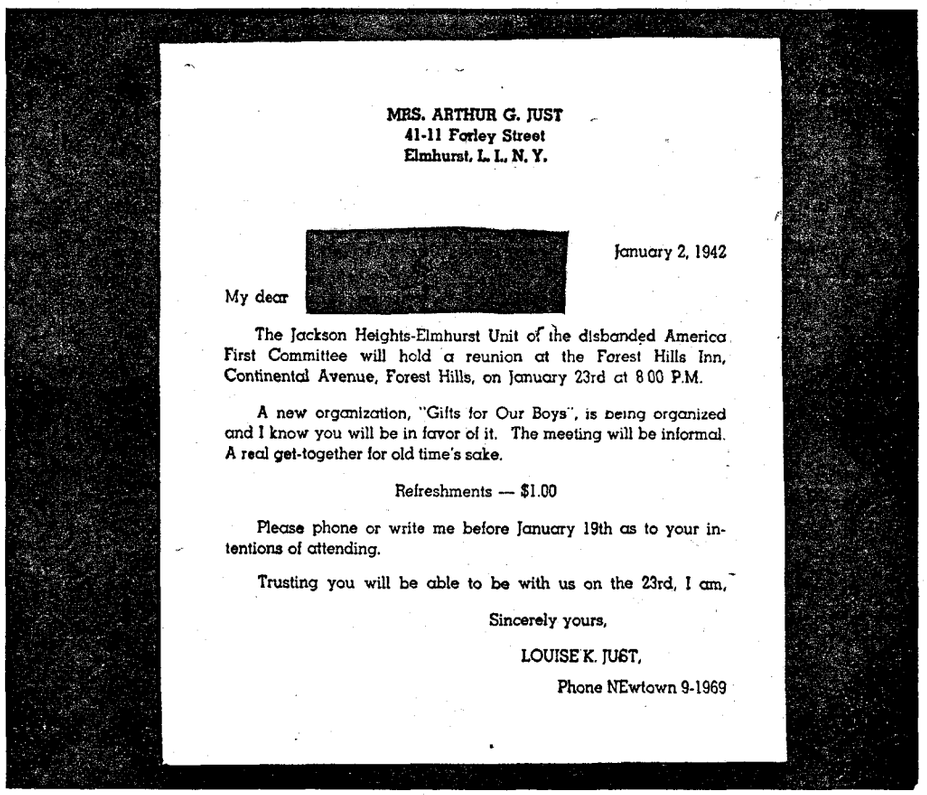
"Those men have a great following, but they are not aspirants for public office."

"Lindbergh, too?"

"Lindbergh would go over big on any ticket," he said with suddenly awakened enthusiasm, the words coming with a rush. "He's got a tremendous following. The country doesn't realize that he's still a hero. And he'll be a still bigger hero when the boys come back and see that they were led into the war by Roosevelt. They'll turn to Lindbergh, who tried to keep them out. He would be a big drawing card with any combination."

"I understand that the balance of power strategy is to force the Republican Party to accept him as a vice-presidential candidate in exchange for the 'nationalist' vote—."

I looked at him inquiringly, but his lips had become a tight line. When he didn't answer, I asked if he knew Lindbergh, McCormick, and Wood personally.



MRS. ARTHUR G. JUST
41-11 Forley Street
Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.

January 2, 1942

My dear [redacted]

The Jackson Heights-Elmhurst Unit of the disbanded America First Committee will hold a reunion at the Forest Hills Inn, Continental Avenue, Forest Hills, on January 23rd at 8:00 P.M.

A new organization, "Gifts for Our Boys", is being organized and I know you will be in favor of it. The meeting will be informal. A real get-together for old time's sake.

Refreshments — $1.00

Please phone or write me before January 19th as to your intentions of attending.

Trusting you will be able to be with us on the 23rd, I am,

Sincerely yours,

LOUISE K. JUST,

Phone NEwtown 9-1969

"A real get-together for old time's sake" proved to be the device used by one "disbanded" America First unit to reorganize shortly after Pearl Harbor under the innocent-sounding name of "Gifts for Our Own Boys."

Birds of a feather, the two Democrats, Senator Wheeler and former Vice-President Garner (second and third from the left), and the two Republicans, Senators Vandenberg (left) and Taft (right), celebrate Wheeler's fifty-eighth birthday prior to the 1940 presidential nominating conventions. Garner is now reported to be secretly aiding in the anti-fourth term movement. Present in spirit at the birthday party though not in the flesh were a number of Wheeler's pals who are today among the thirty indicted seditionists.

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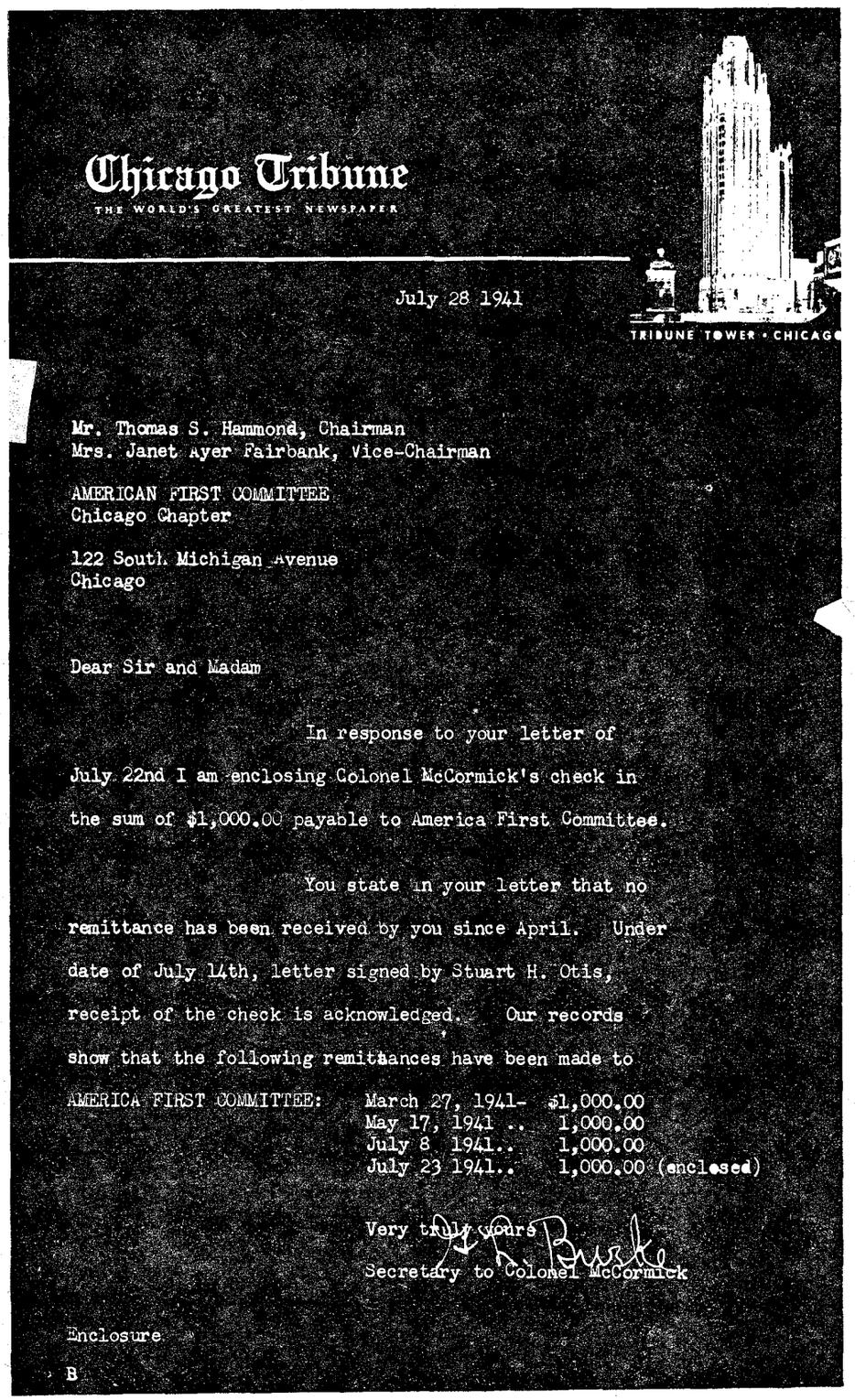

Chicago Tribune

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

TRIBUNE TOWER • CHICAGO

July 28 1941

Mr. Thomas S. Hammond, Chairman
Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, Vice-Chairman

AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE
Chicago Chapter

122 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago

Dear Sir and Madam

In response to your letter of July 22nd I am enclosing Colonel McCormick's check in the sum of $1,000.00 payable to America First Committee.

You state in your letter that no remittance has been received by you since April. Under date of July 14th, letter signed by Stuart H. Otis, receipt of the check is acknowledged. Our records show that the following remittances have been made to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE:

March 27, 1941-	$1,000.00
May 17, 1941 ..	1,000.00
July 8 1941..	1,000.00
July 23 1941..	1,000.00 (enclosed)

Very truly yours

Secretary to Colonel McCormick

Enclosure

B

Col. Robert R. McCormick was not among the contributors listed by Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of the America First Committee, when public clamor forced him to release a list of contributors of $100 or more. A lot of other big contributors were missing from Wood's list. This letter shows McCormick gave $4,000 in four months—a small price to pay for an organization at least one of whose official speakers, Laura Ingalls, was found getting her lecture notes as well as handsome fees from the German Embassy.

"I met them once," he said, looking up at the ceiling as if trying to recollect where. "It was at some America First Committee meeting—before Pearl Harbor. I haven't seen them for over two years."

WHENEVER I talked with anyone who had participated in the secret conferences I was impressed by the bland denials that such conferences had been held; some even denied knowing those with whom they had conferred. The secrecy was even greater than that which surrounded the old America First Committee when it was being publicly charged by Secretary of the Interior Ickes with being "a tight little Nazi organization following the party line as laid down in Berlin." I never could figure out why "patriots" who beat their breasts with loud cries that their only interest was their country's welfare find it necessary to meet with the sort of secrecy one would expect from enemy agents plotting against the United States.

In my old reportorial days when I covered police stations it was, and probably still is, common practice for the cops to segregate one of a group of arrested suspects who refused to talk. Such information as the police had about the crime was detailed to the segregated suspect as a confession made by one of the others. The isolated one, feeling that some of the gang had talked and left him holding the bag, started singing in his own tenor. I recalled this moss-covered technique as we sat in the still, cloistered vastness of the library and I thought I'd try a variation of it, since Gallagher denied even having seen Wood, McCormick, and Lindbergh since Pearl Harbor.

"You know Earl Southard, don't you?" I asked casually. (Earl Southard was one of the most active "isolationist" propagandists before Pearl Harbor and had participated in some of these conferences. I'll deal more with Southard and his activities in a subsequent article.)

Gallagher hesitated a moment and then nodded warily.

"I saw him in Chicago a few days ago," I said indifferently, "and he told me you had seen Colonel McCormick and General Wood last spring."

Gallagher's eyes flashed. "Mm-m-m," he said, and the "Mm-m-m" boded ill for Southard for shooting his mouth off—though, poor devil, he hadn't.

"What regional political strength could you assure them of?" I continued with a puzzled air.

Gallagher shook his head as if trying to make up his mind whether an answer to this question might be an admission that he had conferred with them. Finally he said uncertainly, "Oh, it wasn't regional."

"The country is made up of regions," I continued. "What strength could you assure them of from the New England states?"

"I told them," he said, forgetting that a few moments earlier he had denied even having seen them since Pearl Harbor or that any effort was being made to organize and coordinate the old isolationist forces, "that more than fifty percent of the New England states is against the administration and that the percentage grows as the casualty lists come in."

"Yes, you mentioned earlier that you were interested in the parents of servicemen."

Apparently Gallagher concluded that since Southard had talked, there was no need to deny some phases of the confer-

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ences. He warmed to the subject: "That's going to be one of the strong points. As the casualty lists grow, mothers who have lost sons or who see them coming back without arms and legs will become more bitter. They will start the word-of-mouth campaign. The mothers' groups will play a great part in it."

My stomach turned. I had a feeling that he and the others in the conferences were simply marking time, waiting for dead and wounded American boys, waiting for them like vultures to sweep upon the bodies and use them for a drive to force a negotiated peace with Nazi Germany. The mothers' groups, I knew, had also been called in on these conferences. They had already launched trial balloon outcries for a negotiated peace.

"I knew about the mothers' groups," I said. "Could they be stimulated in time for the campaign?"

GALLAGHER suddenly realized that he had talked too much. "It's just word-of-mouth," he said quickly. "I wouldn't say that it was stimulated by organization."

"What assurance of political strength did you give McCormick and Wood that they could depend on?"

"That's not so important," he said, trying to clear things up for me. "What's taking place now is a jockeying into position of all those forces in preparation for the Republican campaign."

"When Wood and McCormick invited you to Chicago," I said, changing the subject, "why did they also invite Moynihan?"

Another look which boded ill for Southard flashed across his eyes. "I don't know," he said shortly. "I'd rather let Moynihan speak for himself."

"That was early in April. Then you met again during the summer—August, I believe."

"We met again but I don't recall the dates," he said a bit sullenly. "We never talked for long."

"How long were you there on your first conference?"

"Oh, not long."

"What's 'not long'? A few hours?"

"Just about."

"Made that whole trip just for a few hours?"

"Mm-m-m," he said, nodding affirmatively.

"Couldn't have been more like four days, could it?"

He looked at me and smiled. "Well, maybe three or four days."

"That's important only from the standpoint that you didn't talk much with them," I smiled. "What's more important is who will be your leaders in this coming drive?"

"The real political leadership for nationalism will be the wounded veterans who are coming back," he stated enthusiastically. "They are the coming political material. They were ready to sacrifice their lives for their country and no one can accuse them of being pro this or pro that. This use of honorably discharged wounded veterans will be a tremendous item in the '44 campaign."

"Oh, the casualty lists plan, eh?"

"That's right," he said, his voice hard. "The American people are not prepared for large casualty lists. Just wait until the second front is opened and the casualty lists start coming in. The American people will be furious against the administration that led them into war. They will demand that the war be ended immediately and they will sweep the whole war administration out of office."

"Sounds clever," I said.

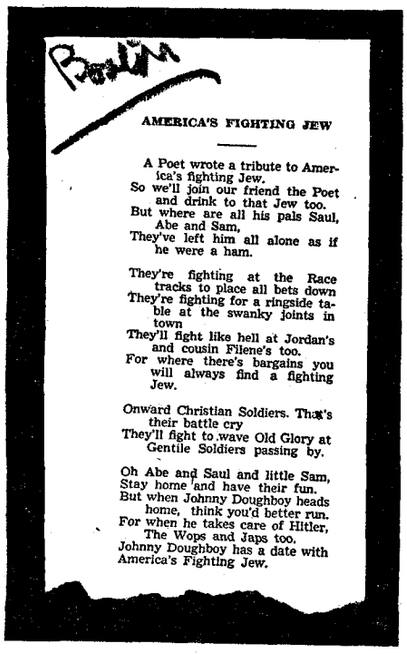
He looked at me with a momentary friendly light in his eyes. "And the mothers' groups—word-of-mouth—" he began.

"Yes, I know," I said. "The appeal will be made to the parents of boys who are still in the service that their sons are being slaughtered to save England, Russia and so on."

"England maneuvered us into this war and the second front was instigated by

Goering beams on his dear friend Lindbergh in this picture taken on Lindbergh's visit to Germany in 1936. Among the many things they had in common was their enthusiasm for air power —especially the kind with the swastika painted on the fuselage.

This revolting piece of anti-Semitic literature is a sample of the propaganda distributed in Boston and its environs. Note the threat of violence against Jews at the hands of returning soldiers. It was literature of this type that helped foment last year's anti-Semitic outrages. This particular bit of Hitlerism has been picked up by subversive groups in other parts of country.



AMERICA'S FIGHTING JEW

A Poet wrote a tribute to America's fighting Jew.
So we'll join our friend the Poet and drink to that Jew too.
But where are all his pals Saul, Abe and Sam,
They've left him all alone as if he were a ham.

They're fighting at the Race tracks to place all bets down
They're fighting for a ringside table at the swanky joints in town
They'll fight like hell at Jordan's and cousin Filene's too.
For where there's bargains you will always find a fighting Jew.

Onward Christian Soldiers. That's their battle cry
They'll fight to wave Old Glory at Gentile Soldiers passing by.

Oh Abe and Saul and little Sam,
Stay home and have their fun.
But when Johnny Doughboy heads home, think you'd better run.
For when he takes care of Hitler, The Wops and Japs too.
Johnny Doughboy has a date with America's Fighting Jew.

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Stalin," he said bitterly. "When the mothers of boys killed and wounded realize this there will be plenty of reaction."

"I understand that you've taken up this plan with some Senators in Washington—"

"That's one thing I can't do," he said quickly, "—break a confidence."

"I didn't ask you to break a confidence. I merely said that you had conferred with United States Senators other than well-known isolationists like Wheeler, Reynolds, and Nye."

"Yes, I did," he said a bit aggressively.

"Three?"

"Three. But I couldn't reveal their names at this time."

"Byrd of Virginia was one?"

Gallagher didn't answer.

"And Langer of North Dakota another?"

"I couldn't reveal the names of the Senators I met with," he said, closing his lips tightly.

"Why not? What I don't get is, why all this secrecy when you're doing something you believe is patriotic?"

"I gave my word to the Senators that I wouldn't reveal their names. I gave my word to them that what we discussed would remain secret."

I RETURNED to a remark he had made at the beginning of the interview when he had blandly announced that he had met McCormick, Wood and Lindbergh only once and that before Pearl Harbor. "I believe you met with Lindbergh before this conference was called in Chicago, didn't you?"

He hesitated and then nodded. "It was a couple of months before," he said.

"January?"

"Yes, about January. But we didn't meet in Chicago. We met in a small town on the outskirts of Chicago. To be perfectly frank with you, we didn't even discuss the war."

"You've been perfectly frank all along," I smiled. "What did you discuss?"

"That I can't tell you."

"Let's see, you and Lindbergh met shortly after the Nazis were defeated at Stalingrad, if I'm not mistaken."

He looked at me without answering. There was a strange half-smoldering light in his eyes.

"It was at Stalingrad that the Nazi myth of invincibility was destroyed. Now why, at this fateful period in world history did Lindbergh and others start these extraordinarily secret conferences?"

"I don't know with whom else Lindbergh met," he said quickly.

"Why all this secrecy? Presumably you are all good Americans and certainly wouldn't discuss anything that wasn't patriotic?"

"There was no secrecy. It had nothing to do with nationalism."

"It had nothing to do with nationalism and nothing to do with the war. Did you make this special trip for a game, a very secret game of checkers?"

Gallagher stared at me and then looked off at the distant library tables. "We just discussed ordinary routine events," he said slowly.

"Lindbergh invited you to a town on the outskirts of Chicago, and you left your job just to go out and discuss ordinary routine events?"

Gallagher shrugged his shoulders without answering.

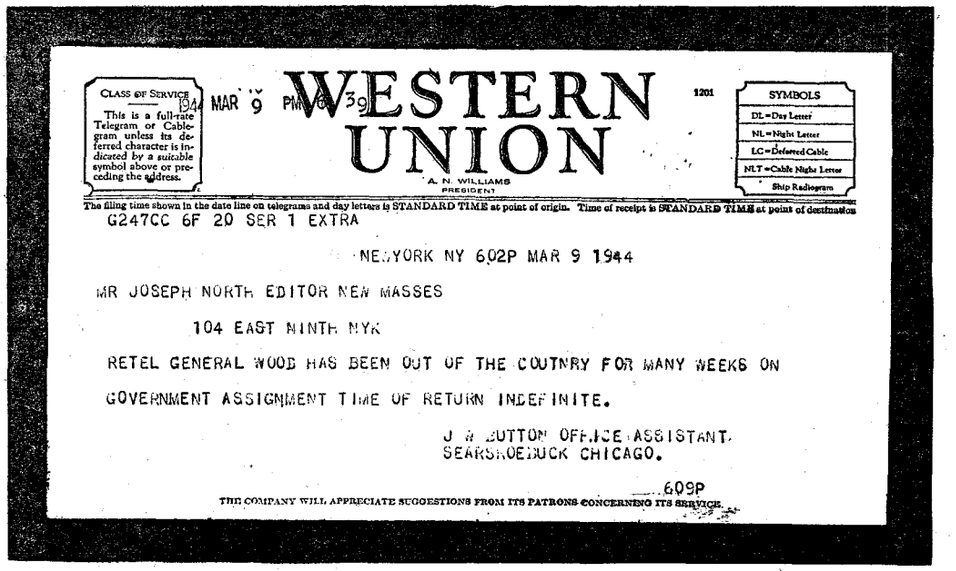
"You talked about what happened at Stalingrad and the Nazis being pushed back by the Red Army?"

Gallagher just looked at me, the glare popping into his eyes.

"Okay, let's drop this angle. Now, this plan to use discharged wounded soldiers in the coming campaign. That's really very clever. What do you know about a potential private army being organized within the ranks of our armed forces?"

"I am not familiar with that at all," he said, his lips a taut, thin line. "I know nothing about that at all. Nothing at all."

Next week I shall tell the story of this potential private army which now numbers 130,000 men in the armed services.



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A. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

1201

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G247CC 6F 20 SER 1 EXTRA

NEWYORK NY 602P MAR 9 1944

MR JOSEPH NORTH EDITOR NEW MASSES

104 EAST NINTH NYK

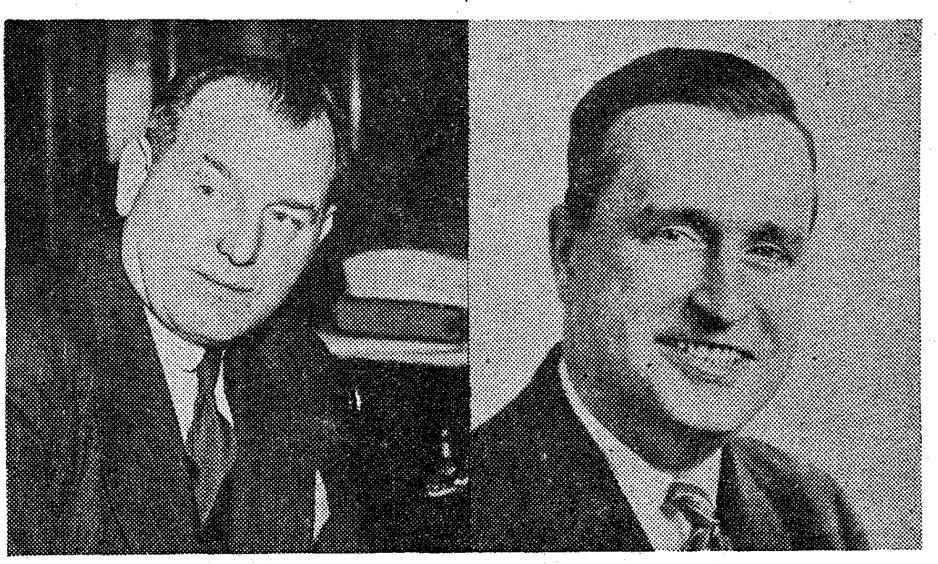
RETEL GENERAL WOOD HAS BEEN OUT OF THE COUTNRY FOR MANY WEEKS ON GOVERNMENT ASSIGNMENT TIME OF RETURN INDEFINITE.

J W BUTTON OFFICE ASSISTANT.
SEARSROEBUCK CHICAGO.

609P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE.

What is General Wood doing on a government assignment outside the country? The man whom John L. Spivak exposes as one of the leaders of a vast conspiracy against our country is entrusted with a confidential mission! One might as well send Laval. The shocking information contained in this telegram shows there are high officials in our government who do not yet know that in this war we are fighting against everything that General Wood and his friends represent. Several days after this telegram was received *PM* of March 13 revealed that last summer Wood, while on a "special mission" for the Air Service Command, conferred with General Douglas MacArthur in Australia. The use of General Wood for such missions is an affront to every man and woman in uniform and a menace to our national security. The evidence New Masses presents calls for his immediate dismissal.



Patrick J. Moynihan (left) and William B. Gallagher (right), personal representatives of Charles E. Coughlin in Boston, who attended secret conferences with General Wood, Colonel McCormick, Colonel Lindbergh, and three United States Senators. International News Photos

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HOW LONG WILL AMERICA WAIT?

By THE EDITORS

IN THIS first of a series of articles John L. Spivak, the country's foremost investigator of fascist and subversive activities, reveals the outlines of a conspiracy that has been under way for more than a year and is scheduled to swing into high gear with the opening of the western invasion of Europe. The leaders of this conspiracy are men whose names are well known—Gen. Robert E. Wood, Col. Robert McCormick, Charles A. Lindbergh, Charles E. Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith. They are men whom Spivak has exposed before in these pages, whose menace to America he has powerfully documented—men whom he has repeatedly called on the Department of Justice to investigate. But let no one conclude therefore that Spivak's present articles are twice-told tales, old stuff. They are no more old stuff than was Hitler's seizure of power ten years after the abortive beer-hall putsch.

What Spivak here discloses are the details of a *new* conspiracy that began, significantly, shortly after the Nazi debacle at Stalingrad. It is a conspiracy designed to force a negotiated peace with Germany and replace President Roosevelt in the 1944 election with a man who can be counted on to reverse the policy of the Moscow and Teheran conferences and find the path to a new gigantic Munich. The men involved, having failed in their attempt to keep this country from joining in the war to save itself and its allies from fascist enslavement (though the damage they have done to our war effort is incalculable), have now turned to a last desperate effort to rescue America's enemies from an otherwise certain doom.

Spivak's first article appears one week after the Department of Justice filed in the district court in Washington a bill of particulars concerning the thirty indicted seditionists who are accused of being the American agents of Hitler's world conspiracy. These seditionists are our war criminals, the counterparts of the quislings who are now being tried by the French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers and of those who will be made to answer for their crimes in every country. Spivak's revelations supplement the Department of Justice case, focusing on men who are the leaders from whom the Joe McWilliams', Gerald Winrods, and Elizabeth Dillings took their cues.

"The conspirators spread their propaganda over the United States," states the Justice Department's bill of particulars, "seeking to undermine the faith of the people in their leaders, and to cause unrest and lack of faith in democracy among the members of the armed forces." Spivak will show that at least one individual who besmirches the name American—an individual who unfortunately is not among the thirty indicted seditionists—is not only seeking "to cause unrest and lack of faith in democracy among the members of the armed forces," but *is building an organization among soldiers and sailors, an organization that already numbers* 130,000 *members.*

There are also links between this conspiracy and the anti-fourth term movement organized by Harry H. Woodring, former Secretary of War, who boasts it has a fund, contributed by anonymous interested parties, of $1,500,000. The Woodring "American Democratic National Committee" was launched in Chicago, February 4. Among those present was Robert M. Harriss, cotton broker and silver speculator, of the New York firm of Harriss & Vose, 60 Beaver St. Harriss was for years—perhaps still is—one of the chief backers and advisers of Charles E. Coughlin. He was also partial to the America First Committee. In a series on America First, published in NEW MASSES in September and October 1941, Spivak presented a photostatic copy of a letter from Harriss to Mrs. Gertrude B. Parker, executive secretary of Women United, which was virtually the women's auxiliary of America First, praising the organization's "wonderful patriotic work" and enclosing a contribution.

The Woodring outfit's New York representative is William J. Goodwin, described in *Under Cover* as "the 'Christian Front' candidate for New York mayor"; this was in 1941 when he was the candidate of the American Rock Party, organized by Coughlinites. The eastern regional representative of the Woodring group is ex-Congressman John J. O'Connor, a diehard appeaser who was much lauded in Coughlin's *Social Justice.*

IT IS now nearly ten years since NEW MASSES published John L. Spivak's first expose of American fascists and anti-Semites. Some of those whom Spivak put the finger on back in 1934—men like Robert Edward Edmondson and Col. E. N. Sanctuary—are today among the thirty facing trial as Hitler's agents. It has taken ten years to bring these men to book, ten years during which they helped undermine our national security, spread race hatred and worked to betray our country to the fascist gangsters. How long must it take before the country catches up with the leaders of the new conspiracy that Spivak exposes in his present series? Can we afford to gamble with our nation's future and mankind's at this supremely critical hour? While hundreds of thousands of our best sons stand poised in England ready to fight to the death to destroy fascism, shall we permit a small band of powerful men and their friends in Congress to prepare the greatest betrayal in history? Shall we allow them to exploit the very wounds of our soldiers and the heartbreak of our mothers for their despicable ends?

Responsible leaders of business like Donald Nelson and Charles E. Wilson of the War Production Board have recently warned against a "rightist reaction"; and in his message at the opening of Congress President Roosevelt underscored their warnings. In these articles John L. Spivak reveals this rightist reaction in the flesh as an organized conspiracy that threatens every man, woman and child in the country. NEW MASSES does not think we ought to give the leaders of this plot ten years to see what happens. We insist that action is called for now by the Department of Justice or Congress or both. We urge our readers to make known these facts and to demand that the biggest war criminals be hunted out and brought to justice before it is too late.

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PETAIN: STRATEGIST OF TREASON

By PIERRE COT

The following is an excerpt from Pierre Cot's forthcoming book, "Triumph of Treason," to be published by Ziff-Davis. Mr. Cot was in 1933 appointed Minister of Aviation and it was in that post that he witnessed the French fascists' uprising of Feb. 6, 1934. In 1936 he became a member of the Popular Front cabinet, a position he held until 1938, when he refused to enter the Daladier cabinet, whose foreign and economic policies he disapproved. In the course of his political career he had many opportunities to observe the men who subsequently betrayed France. His story of Petain's influence on the French Army, which we publish below, adds to the background of the trial and conviction in Algiers of Pierre Pucheu, the Vichy Minister of Interior under Petain and Laval. Mr. Cot is now in North Africa as a member of the French Consultative Assembly — The Editors.

ELSEWHERE I have spoken of Petain as a bad minister of war, of his political influence on the officers, and of his activities at the center of fascist intrigues, which sabotaged Daladier's recovery project. Petain's military activity, in the formulation of French military doctrine, was equally disastrous. The position he occupied in the army was exceptional. In recognition of services rendered in the first World War, he had been kept on the staff without regard for any age limit. Immediately after the 1918 armistice, he was appointed vice-president of the Supreme War Council—which meant that in the event of war he would take over the command as chief of the armed forces. In 1922 his powers were augmented still further by a decree naming him Inspector-General of the army. From that moment on, he controlled the army both in war and in peace and dominated the General Staff. In 1931, at the age of seventy-five, he resigned as Commander-in-Chief in favor of General Weygand, then Chief of Staff; at the same time he was appointed Inspector-General of Aerial Defense, an honorary post which, it was thought, would satisfy a man of his age. However, in 1934 he became minister of war in the cabinet formed by Gaston Doumergue immediately after the sixth of February; and when he left the ministry in 1935, he had his successor, General Maurin, reappoint him a member of the Supreme Council of National Defense of the Supreme War Council and of the High Military Committee, a committee supposedly limited to the ministers of national defense and Chiefs of Staffs of the army, navy, and air force. None but Petain ever exercised so many functions or occupied so high a place in the military hierarchy for so long a time.

The prestige which Petain enjoyed in military circles during the ten years preceding the war cannot be overestimated. After the death of Foch, Petain's star had risen constantly. In the words of Henry Torres, "he had become a living legend." Foch's personality during his lifetime had eclipsed Petain's. But Foch's death, not long before that of Joffre, coincided with the gradual disappearance from public life of all the men who had been at the head of the government during the war—notably Clemenceau and Poincare. Most of those who had observed Petain during the first World War knew him for what he was worth—a good troop leader, but a commander without character or imagination and, furthermore, a weakling and a pessimist.

"Petain's talent lay in execution, whereas Foch's lay in action," Clemenceau used to say. Joffre, in his memoirs, referred on several occasions to the pessimism of Petain. "In the course of a tour through the headquarters of the Second Army which I made with Petain in July, 1916," wrote Joffre, "I was struck by his pessimism, and shortly afterwards was confirmed in my impression of that state of mind. Already in June, the firm confidence of Foch, who had come to General Headquarters, had calmed excessive fears; Petain, in fact, alarmed everybody once more by his limited confidence in the possible length of resistance of Verdun." Poincare, in his memoirs, that inexhaustible source of information on French governmental life during the first World War, related Loucheur's opinion of Petain: "Loucheur, the energetic and farsighted Minister of Armament, is greatly dissatisfied with Petain, whom he considers a dyed-in-the-wool defeatist, and who, a few days ago, said to him, 'We ought to begin peace negotiations.' When the Minister repeated those words to Foch, the latter said: 'It would be madness to ask for peace.'" Elsewhere in the book, Poincare continued: "Foch says that Petain lacks character . . . that in a secondary position, like that of communicating orders, [Petain] would be perfect, but that his fear of responsibility disqualifies him as Commander-in-Chief." Poincare also reported the opinion of Clemenceau who, on Dec. 18, 1917, during his tenure as Premier, confided his misgivings to Poincare, then President of the Republic: "A second cause for concern is Petain. Things aren't going so well there. You heard him the other day, when we asked him: 'Can you hold out?' He did not answer: 'I shall hold out under such and such conditions'; he said: 'I shall not hold out unless. . . .' There you have the man."

In June, 1918, Clemenceau took Poincare aside and said to him: "Petain is irritating and provoking in his pessimism. Can you imagine, for instance, that he told me the Germans would beat the English army in the open field and after that would defeat us. Ought a general to pronounce such words or even think them?" Lloyd George, who used to see Petain at inter-Allied council meetings, had the same impression: "Petain never gave me the impression," he wrote, "of a general whose personality or genius could lead huge armies to victory. He was a *Fabius Cunctator*." Thus Petain, then twenty-two years younger, had already indicated what he proved to be in May and June, 1940: an irritating pessimist, a man afraid of responsibility, a defeatist through and through, and—to cite Joffre again—a man with a tendency to "accept the will of the enemy." But during World War I Petain held less power and was not admitted to cabinet meetings. No one followed his advice to abandon the English and negotiate a speedy peace with the Germans.

WITH the great witnesses of the first World War gone (except for Weygand, whose ambition bound him to Petain after he had first been attached to Foch, who had despised Petain), the Marshal's star rose steadily on the military horizon. Petain was clever and insisted on popularity; a team of collaborators under General Laure (today, Secretary-General to the presidency) worked relentlessly to increase the reputation of the "hero of Verdun." As the only marshal in active service in the French Army, he was the highest authority of the country. Even before Doumergue made him a minister of war—which carried his vanity to the point of a paroxysm—nothing in the army was done without his advice or approval: all important nominations and decisions passed through his hands. He was considered the wise man, the prophet, and the oracle.

Even under the Popular Front he remained a member of the Supreme Council of National Defense and of War, and of the High Military Committee, because any attempt to dislodge him would have resulted in a scandal. According to General Laure, his confidant and authorized biographer, "Petain succeeded, thanks to his attitude, which was that of a prudent, extremely clever man, in gaining a powerful

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influence in the course of the meeting of the High Military Committee." And, still quoting Laure, he became and remained "a high military councilor attached to the Premier." In the conformist and conservative circles of the French army, nobody would have dared to question the validity of his opinions or attack his general conception of war. He had the power to exercise an intellectual dictatorship over French military thought—a mere prelude to the political dictatorship which this enemy of democracy was to impose on all of France in the interest of defeat.

As a member of the High Military Committee from February, 1933, until Februarmy, 1934, and again from June, 1936, until January, 1938, I witnessed Petain's work. It was in this committee, after 1936 called the Permanent Committee of National Defense (*Comité Permanent de la Défense Nationale*), that the general issues of French military policy were decided. The committee met, as a rule, once a month. Never did any of the generals called before the committee dare to criticize Petain's opinions. Never, on his part, did Petain protest, as should have been his duty if he disagreed, against the general orientation of French military policy. He supported on Dec. 15, 1937, the committee's decision not to consider the plan for the extension of the air force that had been submitted by the Ministry of Aviation. During 1936-1937 he presented to the committee a single proposition: the creation of a General Staff of National Defense, superior to the three general staffs of army, air force, and navy. This seemed senseless, in that it established a supplementary organ at the head of the army. However, Petain was stubborn.

In February 1938, Daladier finally gave in and the General Staff of National Defense was created; Gamelin was placed at its head, and General Georges took over the direction of the army General Staff. As might have been expected, all the witnesses at the Riom trial, when asked about the organization of the High Command, complained of the disadvantages of that system and the incessant conflicts of jurisdiction between the staffs of Gamelin and of Georges. Nobody pointed out that the system had been adopted at the request of Marshal Petain.

Petain's most consistent bias was in favor of a defensive strategy and the continuous front, the two ideas which, without exaggeration, formed the basis of his reputation. During World War I he had represented the principle of stationary resistance as against that of dynamic maneuver held by Joffre, and the spirit of defensive warfare as against the offensive warfare represented by Foch. In the eyes of the public, the glory of Petain derived from the Battle of Verdun, and Verdun had been a defensive battle, won by the resistance and sacrifice of troops which held their ground, and not by the maneuvers of the High Command. Verdun remains the only great battle in military history which was won without maneuvering. "They shall not pass," Pétain had said in a famous "order of the day," and the Germans failed to pass either on the right or left banks of the Meuse, hurling themselves vainly against the defensive organizations or improvised positions of the continuous front. According to Joffre, at that time Commander-in-Chief of the French army, the true victor of Verdun was not Petain. "If history," wrote Joffre in his *Mémoires*,

"Paris, 1934," by Geyer.

Courtesy Artist Associates

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"permits me to judge the general officers who served under my orders, I must say that the true savior of Verdun was Nivelle, with the valuable aid of Mangin." But legend is often stronger than history, and Petain owed his halo to Verdun. Old and crowned with honors, Petain remained stubbornly faithful to the ideas he had professed and practiced in the first World War.

This inflexibility had disastrous consequences. I elsewhere mentioned General Chauvineau's book, *Is an Invasion Still Possible?* (1938), in which he sang the praises of the continuous front and opposed the creation of armored divisions. Marshal Petain wrote a long preface for this book. To understand the weight of this fact, one must know that Petain wrote very little, and that the book was published shortly before the meeting of the Supreme War Council in which the proposal to create two armored divisions was discussed.

Petain, siding publicly with General Chauvineau, spoke out in favor of the continuous front and against the armored divisions. He supported Chauvineau's general idea against that of "the professional army" —the plan of Colonel de Gaulle, whose ideas he attacked without naming their author. "Less ambitious than the professional army," he said, "it [Chauvineau's plan] seems more certain, and, after all, more useful. In short, General Chauvineau's views on the opening of land operations are full of wisdom. . . . The continuous front is not an accident which one can cast off like a bad habit. At the beginning of a war, it is the weaker belligerent's only way of guaranteeing the defense of his country. . . . The continuous front is an inevitable consequence of the increased forces of the armed nation and of the technical progress of arms. . . . The professional army is above all an offensive weapon; the quality of its materiel and men makes it an irresistible instrument in the eyes of its author. It would be somewhat imprudent to adopt his conclusions. . . . It seems that the technical possibilities of tanks and of the command of armored divisions have not been sufficiently studied. . . . General Chauvineau's idea seems to answer better both the technical possibilities of today's armored engines, their use in the face of mines and anti-tank arms, and also the healthy strategic conceptions which require the immediate and sure occupation of a defensive field before one can think of a strategic offensive." This, after Munich, which had saved Germany from the menace of the Czech army, which was more modern and more maneuverable, if smaller, than the French army; this, in spite of the creation of the German *Panzer-divisionen*, in spite of the lessons of the Spanish war, which Petain's friend Franco had just won. Petain told the General Staff and the entire French army: "Take care! Attempts are being made to draw you on to the wrong road. The author of the idea of the professional army is mistaken; his idea is poorly thought out, and it would be imprudent to adopt his conclusions. The thesis of General Chauvineau, adversary of the armored divisions and partisan of the principle of scattering tanks, seems to me closer to reality."

"Le Maquis," by Edith Glaser.

PETAIN went further; he did not want his true intentions to be misunderstood. After analyzing and approving Chauvineau's work in general terms, he added a section to the preface, which he called "Elements of a War Doctrine." With frequent reference to Chauvineau, who thus became the official interpreter of his ideas, Petain developed in this section his general conception of modern warfare. According to this, modern war had to be a continuous front war: "Battlefields prepared and reinforced by permanent fortifications permit the achievement of two essential results—the creation of a continuous barrier, which could not otherwise exist, at least at the beginning, and the realization, for the defense of this barrier, of the greatest savings for the benefit of the elements placed in reserve. If the preparation of the battlefield is adequate and its occupation rapid, the enemy will be forced to stage a methodical operation; *his hopes of bringing a quick end by means of a sudden attack will be frustrated.*"

Petain considered the war of movement dangerous: "One still finds some tendencies to return to the doctrine of the war of movement from the beginning of operations, according to the ideas in vogue before 1914. The experience of the war was too costly for us to return with impunity to old and erroneous notions. . . . It will be General Chauvineau's rare merit to have shown that the continuous front is based both on the lessons of history and on the technical properties of armies and fortification. . . . General Chauvineau's study does not hesitate to rehabilitate the continuous front, which is little studied in peacetime and which bears the weight of general reprobation, as if it were the product of an inferior art of war, whereas it actually is the consequence of large numbers of men mobilized by the armed nation, and of the technical properties of arms capable of laying down barrages that are impenetrable to men and tanks."

Marshal Petain went on to study the use of aviation, which Chauvineau had not considered, and just as he condemned the armored divisions, so he condemned the direct use of aviation in land battle: "We find no fundamental error in the account [of Chauvineau], but merely certain omissions concerning the use of aviation. Aerial forces have an important influence on land battle. However, their direct action in battle is hazardous, as the troops involved are stationed to give and receive blows. It is by indirect action on the rear that aerial forces will most effectively be employed." (Unfortunately, the Chief of Staff of the air force followed Petain's advice, and French aviation, employed only in rear attacks, was not involved in the land fighting.) Thus stating the most recent development of his doctrine, Petain concluded: "General Chauvineau established himself on the solid and unassailable base of technical fact; the continuous front is a reality which one denies at one's peril. The system recommended corresponds perfectly with the political, geographic, and demographic situation of France, and with the fortifications that have been built on her frontiers."

Such, in his own words, was Marshal Petain's war doctrine. It was conservative, reactionary, anarchistic. Petain was the first, last, and most eminent doctrinaire of the continuous front. No work on military doctrine was published in France after General Chauvineau's; not another line was written by Petain after his "Elements of a War Doctrine." Under these circumstances the improvement of the army became extremely difficult and almost impossible, for it would have presupposed a General Staff and a Supreme War Council capable of standing up against the authority and advice of the Marshal.

Having kept the French army in the rut of the continuous front doctrine, Petain could take the road to Burgos, certain of a warm welcome from Franco. The German armored divisions had nothing to do but break the continuous front with the aid of air power "directly engaged in the land battle"; that done, Hitler rewarded Petain by helping him assume power in France.

Thus the poor preparation of the army as directly caused by the French war doctrine, was the fault of Marshal Petain.

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WHY THEY GUN FOR TUGWELL

By MARION BACHRACH

THIS is the season of the *zafra* in Puerto Rico; the cutting and grinding of more than a million tons of sugar cane, already begun in the south of the Island, will be finished by the end of May.

Continental and insular enemies of President Roosevelt and his war policy hope to harvest something even more profitable than sugar in Puerto Rico this year. They are pressing a two-pronged drive whose real objective is the enslavement of Puerto Rico's two million oppressed people, the destruction of their democratic organizations, the wiping out of all the gains they have made within the framework of the colonial system, and the crushing of their hopes for national liberation raised to new heights by the war. If they achieve these objectives during this year's *zafra*, their victory will not be without influence on the outcome of our own presidential elections.

One prong of this reactionary and defeatist drive is directed against Gov. Rexford Guy Tugwell, a staunch Roosevelt supporter, and against the win-the-war and progressive Popular Democratic Party headed by Senator Luis Munoz Marin. The other prong is directed against the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), Puerto Rico's up and coming central labor body, most of whose 215,000 members are supporters of Tugwell and Munoz Marin, are strongly anti-fascist and pro-independence.

A general sugar strike has been threatening since before the *zafra* began. Last week Puerto Rico sent a delegation to Washington, asking federal government help in averting the strike. Composed of labor and insular government representatives, the delegation was fully aware of the grand strategy of reaction's double-play and of the political and economic gains it sought to make by provoking a strike that would bring chaos to the Island. The delegation's three CGT members—F. Colon Gordiany, president; Juan Saez Corales, general secretary, and M. Sanchez Leon, educational secretary—were in complete agreement with the three representatives of the insular government—Charles Goldsmith, federal conciliator in Puerto Rico, Fernando Sierra, chief of the Insular Department of Labor Conciliation, and E. Campos del Toro, Coordinator of Insular Affairs and president of the Insular Labor Relations Boardl

Their unity is a manifestation of the broader national unity which is growing in the Island, behind the win-the-war policies of the Popular Democratic Party, the CGT, and the Pro-Independence Congress.

To understand the desperate tactic of the combined continental and insular reactionaries it is necessary to summarize briefly the strides recently made by the Puerto Rican people. The CGT, first organized in March 1940, now represents a majority of the Island's trade unionists and has collective bargaining agreements in the transportation, liquor, construction, and other important industries. The Popular Democratic Party was organized in 1939, around the issues of the 1940 campaign. It won a smashing victory in those elections, obtaining a majority of one vote in the Puerto Rican Senate while in the House it fell only two votes short of a majority. Its prestige was so great, and its progressive legislative measures so popular, that pressure frequently forced the opposition to support it on major issues, giving it the actual majority necessary to pass much social legislation long demanded by the people. This legislation had the support of Governor Tugwell, a fact which has won him the friendship of the Puerto Rican people and the enmity of reactionaries in the US Congress, of the sugar interests, and of the colonial boot-lickers of imperialism.

Just a few weeks ago, in preparation for the 1944 elections, Puerto Rico held its primaries in which the new voters registered their party choice. The Popular Democratic Party polled 190,000 votes, as against 85,000 for all the minority parties combined. Those figures left no doubt in anybody's mind as to the outcome of the 1944 elections—unless, of course, reaction could completely upset the present balance of forces before November. Its reasons for attempting to do just that are obvious: the Popular Democratic program is pro-war, it carries forward the social and economic reforms so urgently needed by the masses, it threatens the interests of the sugar trust and the big absentee landowners—and by unifying and democratizing the nation facilitates its progress toward national liberation. Munoz Marin and his party have refused to place the question of independence as an issue in the election, feeling (rightly or wrongly) that this would create dissension among their followers and jeopardize their otherwise certain victory. But the majority of Popular candidates for office are *independentistas*. Inevitably, a Popular Party election victory will be a boost to the independence movement.

The enemies of the Puerto Rican people have moved swiftly. There has been excellent team-work among the Sugar Producers Association, the absentee landowners, the falangists, and the leaders of the so-called Coalition—the opposition made up of the Union Republican, Liberal and Socialist parties, the defeatist bloc of poll-taxers and anti-Roosevelt Democrats in our

"Worker and Bearer," by Helen West Heller.

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own Congress, and the small and discredited Free Federation of Labor, affiliated to the AFL and corrupted by the Woll-Hutcheson-Lewis influence.

WITHIN the past month these events have occurred, all timed to supplement each other in creating a chaotic situation that will turn the tide for reaction:

1. The United States Senate, drastically revising the reforms to the Organic Act proposed by President Roosevelt and the joint US-Puerto Rican commission, has passed a bill which makes a mockery of our war aims and of the national independence aspirations of the Puerto Rican people. This measure, which if adopted by the House will close the door on a final solution of the Island's status through consultation with the Puerto Rican people themselves, has been almost unanimously condemned in the Island.

2. A resolution calling for the removal of Governor Tugwell from office was introduced in the Puerto Rican legislature. It was rejected by one vote in the Senate and passed the House by two votes—the day being carried through the efforts of House speaker Roderiguez Pacheco, a Japanese agent.

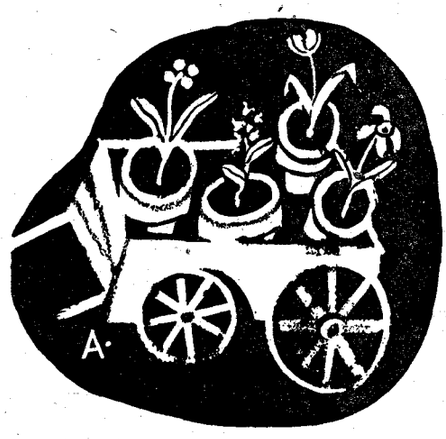
3. The United States Congress has become the forum for and open ally of the reactionary falangist agents in Puerto Rico. Jose A. Balseiro, a Union Republican Senator and heir to a large sugar fortune; Adolfo Garcia Veve, also a Senator and attorney for the big Fajardo Sugar Company, and Antonio Reyes Delgado, like Resident Commissioner Bolivar Pagan, a Norman Thomas Socialist, are currently smearing the Tugwell administration in congressional hearings, charging it with the misuse of Island funds. Largely as a result of income from taxes on rum, the Puerto Rican treasury has a sum at its disposal far in excess of any in the history of the American occupation. In consultation with the Popular Democratic Party, Governor Tugwell submitted to the Insular legislature a budget of $92,000,000. Of this only $22,000,000—$3,000,000 above normal—is for expenses of government. The remainder is allocated to investment in self-liquidating projects essential to the public welfare. Taking up the cry of the falangist sugar agents, Representative Cole (Republican, N.Y.) and the reactionary bloc in Congress are pushing a bill which would rob the Puerto Rican Treasury of the taxes on rum, diverting them to the federal Treasury. They are whipping up all kinds of hysteria around the false charge that Tugwell and the Populars seek a huge budget in order to misspend funds in "socializing" the Island economy.

But something more was needed in order to remove Tugwell, discredit the Popular Democratic Party which supports him, disrupt the win-the-war camp in the Island—and so pave the way for an election victory by reaction. That something was a general strike during the period of the *zafra*. In the miserable working and living conditions of the sugar cane workers, and the many frustrations they have suffered in their struggle for justice, the materials for a first class provocation were at hand.

By the end of 1941, the CGT, not yet a year old, had sufficient strength among the sugar workers to demand a collective bargaining agreement with the Association of Sugar Producers. Alarmed, the Association quickly signed a contract with the Free Federation. With fine political foresight they set the expiration date at December 1944. The joint efforts of the Federation and the sugar producers to thus destroy the CGT failed. During the grinding season of 1942 the CGT called a strike, demanding better wages, better working conditions, and an Island-wide collective bargaining agreement. The strike was effective. Through the Minimum Wage Board, the Insular government intervened to raise wages from the one dollar and fifty-one cents per day set in the contract with the Federation to one dollar and eighty cents. Back pay covering the period from the end of the strike to the effectuation of the new rates was provided in the settlement. The Association accepted the increase, but refused to comply with the back-pay provisions—and these are still in litigation in the courts.

WITH the outbreak of war and the adoption of their no-strike pledge, the workers in the CGT followed a new tactic during the 1943 *zafra*. They approached individual sugar producers in areas where the union strength was greatest and signed more than twenty collective agreements far superior in their terms to the insular agreement entered into by the Association and the Free Federation. The prestige of the CGT was enhanced, there was dissension in the Association, and the Free Federation, fearing extinction, began to attack the sugar firms which had signed with the CGT.

By the end of 1943, with 215,000 members in the Island's major industries, the CGT had 86,363 out of a total of 125,000 sugar workers in its ranks. In preparation for the 1944 *zafra* it again demanded an insular contract with the Association—a demand backed by the entire CGT membership. It asked that elections, supervised by the Insular Labor Relations Board, be held to determine its right to serve as sole collective bargaining representative of the sugar workers. And it authorized the CGT leaders to call a strike if and when all other recourse had failed.



THE Sugar Producing Association and the Free Federation are opposing the election, claiming that the Insular Board is "prejudiced" and that the certain victory of the CGT would therefore be invalid. They demand that if an election is held it must be delayed until after the expiration of the Federation's contract—in December, when the sugar workers are scattered far and wide, and the November elections are over. And what the Free Federation and the Sugar Producers Association desire above all is a general strike that will discredit Tugwell, the Popular Party, the CGT, and all the progressive forces in the Island.

The mature leadership of the CGT has valiantly resisted the strike provocation, in which it has had the constructive support of Governor Tugwell and the Island government. The CGT leaders ask merely that the elections be held *now*, before the grinding season is over, and they are content to postpone the signing of their contract until the expiration of the Federation's contract in December—that is if their majority is established now under the only conditions which make sense of an election.

In answer to the Federation-Association charge that the Insular Labor Relations Board is "prejudiced," the CGT and Insular government delegation came to Washington to ask that the election be supervised by the federal government. They have appealed to the National Labor Relations Board and the War Labor Board for executive action, and their appeal has been granted and elections ordered to be held during April.

With the support of the Puerto Rican people and their democratic organizations, the CGT is moving ahead on the political as well as on the economic front. On Sunday, March 12, the CGT called a mass demonstration in front of the capital in San Juan. The slogans carried on the demonstrators' banners tell the story: "We fight reaction in Puerto Rico, Hitler in the world. We support a fourth term for President Roosevelt. We demand Tugwell as governor as long as we remain a colony. We demand the end of the colonial regime." These are demands which the American people and particularly the American trade union movement can and should support.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Apologia for Defeat

WHATEVER else it may be, the protest by twenty-eight American churchmen and lay figures against the bombing of Germany is a protest against the war. Their act is one of those evil gestures which cloaks itself in humanitarianism but in fact violates that precept by strengthening the enemy and by reinforcing his drive to crush our morale. The reader can hunt through their statement with a magnifying glass but he will not find a word condemning the Hitlerites or the fascist contrivers of this global inferno. There is no acknowledgement of the righteousness of our cause. The conflict to these clergymen is merely that of two "contesting parties" both of whom care little about "decencies and chivalries." In the language of pacifism such genteel phrases may have their place, but to the democratic world at large they arouse nothing but sickening disgust. It is incredible that in 1944, after a decade of the most beastly acts committed by one of the "contesting parties," there are still those who in effect believe that all we have to do is perform the ritual of "repentance" for our enemy's crimes. This is the strongest sign of how pacifism borders on defeatism.

From the correspondence columns of the newspapers it is obvious that many of the co-religionists of these same clergymen —co-religionists with equally good Christian consciences—sharply dissent from this kind of spiritual strategy. The letter-writers are deeply disturbed by the effort to curb the necessity of air attack on the claim that bombing Germany is an irreligious act. And while many of them are of the opinion that the bomber forays are not decisive in determining victory, they stress their importance in reducing Nazi war production to facilitate the battles of the ground forces when they invade the Continent. To say that we should not rain hell on industrial areas because a civilian may be killed is to overlook the totality of this war in which the conventional distinction between fighter and non-fighter is almost impossible to define.

The man who makes bullets for a German rifle is as much a legitimate target as the man who uses that rifle. It is a badly distorted mind with fantastic ethical values which would urge our military leaders to wage warfare on a scale smaller or less effective than the enemy wages it. And in time of actual war such admonition, whatever the sources, even if it be the Pope's insistence that Rome be spared, is bound to help no one but our mortal enemies.

"Peace Now Delegate," by Edith Glaser.

Pipeline Paroxysms

ANALYSIS of the Arabian oil issue is no simple matter. It is a complex of problems whose many threads are entangled in the future trade policies of the Allies as well as in our relations with the Middle and Near East. The complex is doubly intricate because it involves the need to restore our dwindling oil reserves and the need for government intervention in an industry whose foreign dealings are a bleak chapter in international affairs. How well this maze of difficulties is solved will soon be indicated by forthcoming discussions among high Washington and London officials, and the outcome of this conference will set the tone for other such meetings on shipping, aviation and tele-communications.

Fifty-five American oil companies have vociferously protested the proposed Saudi Arabian pipeline as government interference in the conduct of the oil business. Several of these companies are competitors of those which are being subsidized by Washington in the construction of the 1,200-mile line running from the Persian Gulf area to the eastern Mediterranean. Those independent companies without foreign oil fields fear that cheap Arabian fuel will push them against the wall in the domestic market. Secretary Ickes, as head of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation, has therefore to tread warily lest a fraudulent free enterprise issue be used to obstruct the government's conservation program and give the bucking broncos in Congress an opportunity to participate in another of their anti-Administration rodeos. Ickes has been the joint target of the liberals, who insist that the government has sold out to the oil companies, and the oil companies, who argue that the government is attempting to "socialize" the oil industry. This is, of course, a sham battle because both briefs are wrong and there is good reason to believe that many oil operators are using the "government interference" cry to rally support against the President. If there were another Harding or Coolidge in the White House they would be burbling with ecstasy. In any case, their condemnations are not unanimous in the industry—and the liberals have been indirectly refuted by these very protestations.

From the foreign angle, American petroleum policy is in its formative stage. The objective must be to integrate it with the Teheran perspectives, the principles of the declaration on Iran as well as with Article VII of the Master Lend-Lease Agreement. In all three we have the means of allaying British suspicions of our intentions in the Arab countries. All agreements must be made by mutual consent and on the basis of an equitable adjustment of differences in order to keep them within the bounds of good will, and in the interests of a durable peace and the welfare and prosperity of the countries in which the oil is tapped. Ancient imperialist rivalries are centered in the Moslem world and they can easily become the sources of harrowing frictions. These are some of the grave responsibilities facing the forthcoming Anglo-American meetings, which some Washington and London observers believe will eventually include the Soviet Union. Our delegates have the job of showing the world that Teheran diplomacy is replacing that of the dollar.

Chile Disappoints Us

NO ONE was surprised when Bolivia, and then Paraguay, acknowledged the new Argentine junta under General Farrell, for both are dominated by cliques similar to that which holds the Nazi bridgehead in Buenos Aires. The Bolivian government, which seized power last December, did so with the active assistance of Axis elements in Argentina, and Paraguay suffers under a reactionary dictatorship with characteristic brutalities and suppression of constitutional liberties. Chile belongs in a different category, however. Consequently, when President Rios announced that Chile would not break diplomatic relations with Argen-

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tina following the ousting of Ramirez by Farrell, democratic unity in the hemisphere received a sharp setback.

This unfortunate decision of the Chilean government came at the time of a concerted move by the democratic nations of the hemisphere to apply the stiff pressure of non-recognition to the Argentina junta. Steps similar to those successfully taken to isolate the Bolivian coup were under way through the Inter-American Advisory Committee for Political Defense sitting in Montevideo. Suddenly, Chile, regarded as one of the strong Latin democracies, bolted and took a decision which the Confederation of Chilean Workers has described as "tending to aid the Axis against the peoples of the United Nations." How can this be explained?

If one recalls that following the Rio de Janiero Conference of January 1942, Chile held out for many months against the agreed policy of breaking diplomatic relations with the Axis, along with Argentina, this latest episode comes as less of a surprise. It is nonetheless disappointing, for it indicates the hold which reactionary forces still have upon the economy and politics of that country. It indicates, moreover, that the Alianza Democratica, which elected President Rios to office, a group made up of his own party, the Radicals, as well as the Socialists and Communists, has failed to deepen and broaden the progressive coalition sufficiently to keep up with the rapid course of events. By this action President Rios once again shows himself to be a man easily persuaded by elements whose interests run counter to those of the nation as a whole. These elements have evidently made use of Chile's economic dependence on Argentina to force this reactionary move. The resulting break in the hemisphere front calls for renewed efforts on the part of other nations, and particularly the United States, further to strengthen the democratic policies pursued by the seventeen American nations which oppose the Argentine junta.

Munchausen Holiday

LAST week we commented on the desperate measures adopted by the cabal of Roosevelt-haters, defeatists and pro-fascists to impede the popular surge toward unity around the administration's victory policies. Martin Dies, John L. Lewis, and Alex Rose grimaced in the spotlight then; this week others stepped into the limelight. Some were motivated by the same pro-fascist rancor as John L. Lewis; others, blinded by partisan politics, played into the hands of our nation's enemies.

That arch Munchausen of Roy Howard's—Fred Woltman, a sort of batboy for Westbrook Pegler—tore off a few pages of well-displayed copy for Page One to the effect that Earl Browder had "laid down the law" to a group of CIO leaders with a dire injunction to "capture" the American Labor Party. The New York *Post*—house organ for the Alex Rose-George Counts ALP clique—played this canard shamelessly as "emanating from an unimpeachable source." The New York *Herald Tribune*, stumbling over its predilection for partisan politics on the home front, also fell for the cock-and-bull tale. It spoke of an "unimpeachable source" but failed to mention that it was quoting Woltman.

The measure of its accuracy was indicated by Eugene Connolly, secretary of the New York County Committee of the ALP, who retorted, "With the so-called Liberal and Labor Committee (of the ALP) rapidly approaching a state of rigor-mortis, the story does not surprise me. . . . Mr. Woltman's irresponsibility is so well known that it seems redundant to point it out again. . . . like Westbrook Pegler (he) is only too happy to extend his aid to those working to split the pro-Roosevelt forces." Other labor leaders alleged to have attended, replied similarly: Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, said: "The only politician I met with last week was Wendell Willkie. However, why it should be a scandal to talk with Earl Browder, I don't know, since it is a matter of record that he is working night and day to help win the war."

A similar "unimpeachable source" also concocted a story which pictured "differences" between Earl Browder and William Z. Foster over the policies adopted at the recent meeting of the Communist Party's National Executive Committee. Mr. Foster in a statement published by the *Daily Worker* said: "I am amazed at the florid imagination of the writers on certain New York newspapers in conjuring up imaginary struggles within the leadership of the Communist Party." He spoke of the "splendid unity" of that party and declared that its enemies will be disappointed in their efforts to shatter it.

Look Who's Not Equal

REPRESENTATIVE Andrew J. May of Kentucky, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, has had a very successful week. The row he kicked up, along with the most reactionary of his colleagues, persuaded the War Department to ban the pamphlet, *Races of Mankind*, from use in orientation courses offered to the armed services. This marks Mr. May's most signal victory over science; he stands out as one of the leading proponents in America of superstition, bigotry, and just downright degradation.

If there is anything ironic about the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee emerging as the defender of fascist racism in the middle of the war against fascism, the irony escapes Mr. May. His defense of "white supremacy" was an able bit of cribbing from *Mein Kampf* which must have given real satisfaction in Berlin, and which places Mr. May right up there in the top ranks of America's leading race-baiters—Coughlin, Senator Reynolds, Dies, Gerald L. K. Smith, Talmadge, Bilbo, Rankin, and all the rest of the carriers of the white-supremacy disease.

That the War Department succumbed to May's scurrillity is tragic. Obviously the vigorous protest by the CIO against this shameful suppression, and the demand that *Races of Mankind* be given the widest circulation both among the civilian population and among the armed forces, merits the fullest support of every patriotic American.

The book, compiled by the distinguished anthropologists, Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, is a carefully documented, intelligently presented discussion of the peoples who inhabit the world. It is a direct attack on the mumbo-jumbo of "super-races," on the illusion that skin, color, or the shape of the head make for greater or less intelligence, greater or less ability. But the War Department has turned thumbs down on the book and thereby has not helped to raise the morale of the armed services. It has succumbed, in this instance, to those who would rob the men and women in uniform of the strength that comes from full perception of why they are fighting.

Medical Quack-Quack

THE American Medical Association has at various times done excellent work in combating medical quacks. We suggest it now do a job on itself. We suggest it look into an alleged public opinion survey issued by its alter ego, the National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Care—whose unacknowledged father is publisher Frank Gannett, charged in *Under Cover* with subversive associations—and expose this survey as the foul-smelling intellectual snake-oil that it is. This poll, conducted for the NPC by the Opinion Research Corp., professes to show overwhelming nationwide opposition to the health provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill. One question reads: "Have you ever heard of a plan to increase social security taxes and have the federal government use the money for a medical and hospital insurance program? Would you approve or disapprove of such a plan?" Of course, the increased taxes under the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill would be used not only to provide medical and hospital insurance, but to extend unemployment insurance and old-age pensions to groups not now covered and to increase benefits for all eligible groups. But overlooking for the moment the distorted form of the question, only twenty-one percent

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said they had heard of the plan; of these thirty-two percent approved, fifty-two percent disapproved, while twenty-six percent had no opinion.

Since only twenty-one percent had even heard of the plan, it is obvious that no conclusion whatsoever can be drawn concerning the attitude of the American people toward the medical provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. But the NPC proceeded to load the dice again in the next question: "Would you still approve if this meant increasing social security taxes to six percent?" Of the thirty-two percent who had previously approved, only sixteen percent stuck to their guns. Here again the NPC falsified the facts. For the wage tax required to cover medical and hospital insurance would not be six percent, but one and a half percent, or less than half of what the average citizen pays today for medical care. Yet on the basis of this quack poll the NPC announces that "only sixteen percent of the people . . . were in favor of such far-reaching and actually revolutionary measures."

The poll also included a couple of questions of a different kind. One of them showed that sixty-three percent of the people felt that something "might be done to make it easier for the people to pay doctor or hospital bills." That is one of the things that the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill would do. For a full discussion of the bill's medical provisions we refer our readers to the article in our February 22 issue by Edward Earle Starr which effectively punctured the hobgoblins of the AMA-Gannett campaign.

America's Foreign Policy

In the past few days we have had a demonstration in several newspapers of how risky and utterly absurd is the kind of journalistic thinking, either liberal or conservative, which deals in terms of absolutes. The controversy over our country's foreign policy is but one example of how commentators who deal in absolutes suffer from a mental *mal de mer* simply because they cannot ride the wave of rapid change. Those stolid individuals, by and large in the win-the-war camp, whose opinions the editorial writers on the New York *Times* best express, are trying to adjust Teheran to their Victorian outlook with the consequence that Teheran is obliterated and their Victorianism remains essentially untouched. And a few steps further to the left are the liberals perched so high on the mountain top that they are almost completely isolated from the ordinary life in the green fields below. Teheran, with all the reservations they put upon it, is viewed by them as another international meeting —very nice and very cordial—but of no particular meaning as a luminous signpost of the changed and changing relations among the Allies.

The fundamental truth about our foreign policy is that it is in flux, that it is being oriented and reoriented along lines dictated not only by the present stage of the war but by the broader vistas of a future not menaced by the fear and dread of Hitler. It is a policy which in its broadest aspects is being released from the imprisonment of an anti-Soviet world. And in the process of adjustment there are inevitably many problems whose solution lags behind the solution of others. But all these problems bow before the pivotal fact, which must be kept foremost in mind, that no difficulty in international affairs could be overcome unless the relations between the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union were on firm foundation. Any deep differences among these three colossal units of wealth and power would affect every other nation and inevitably create havoc. With the achievement of Teheran, however, and the perspectives that emerge from it, there is no problem of any weight which cannot be arbitrated in the interests of the whole United Nations coalition including its leadership.

It is, in our opinion, the carriers of prejudice and archaic notions who consider the work of our State Department at Moscow and that of the Executive at Teheran as so valueless, or so slight, that there is no reason for them to change their attitudes towards the joint policies of Mr. Hull and the President. Both of them have accomplished tremendous things and the major drive of the President, as we see it, is to link our national policy to our international commitments. All this is no simple and easy matter—unless, of course, you are a Republican candidate for the presidential nomination or work on the staff of *PM*. It demands a course of zigzagging through stormy congressional waters. It makes for delay—at times heartbreaking delay—in settling many outstanding issues. When there is fear that every move in the proper direction will be challenged by evil forces, whose influence is by no means small, then our progress is slow. If there was the firmest unity behind the President's program, if there was certainty that the Vatican hierarchy in this country would not explode in protest, then our policy towards Spain might be tougher; our policy towards the Polish government in London might be sterner. And so on through the many facets which comprise the picture of our international relations.

What must be understood is the broad, general trend of our foreign affairs. To think in absolutist or perfectionist molds is to do no thinking at all; to think solely in the terms of the past is to live in another and therefore unreal world. Our foreign policy is not yet totally the kind which enables us to play the most positive role in the great task of our time: independence and security as part of a unified world. But it is far, far from being the utterly hopeless, black, and stupid affair which it is considered by many writers in the liberal and conservative press. Looking over the record of the State Department in the past year—from Moscow to Teheran, to our action in Bolivia, to our relations with Tito, etc.—one can see many instances where it has climbed over old prejudices and therefore risen considerably in stature. This is the growing trend. Still there are those in the department who cannot even take the first step in the upward climb. And it is these who must be dismissed as so much baggage weighing down our progress.

Rather than lambasting Mr. Hull or the President as so many critics do for their not living up to the critics' exclusive conception of how foreign policy should be conducted, these people ought to do a little self-searching and direct their fire at those who are Teheran's real enemies. It is high time that they looked clearly through the window of history instead of being so fascinated by the fly specks on it.

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THE WEEK IN LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBURN

REPORT ON THE BY-ELECTIONS

London (by cable).

LOOKING over the British domestic scene, which has changed sharply in the past weeks, you can find a turning point in the recent Brighton and West Derbyshire by-elections. You can see well enough now how those by-elections marked a certain qualitative change not seen in the previous successes of independent candidates. The big vote for the independent candidate who just failed of election in Brighton was a sign not that Churchill's prestige as a war leader had by any means diminished, but that the electorate is no longer willing that the "magic" of Churchillian prestige be turned on to serve every domestic political purpose of the Tory machine.

You must recall that until very recently, perhaps right up to the eve of the Brighton election, the Tories profoundly believed that they would always be able, either before or after the end of the war in Europe, to turn on that magic to save their bacon on the home front. The realization that this simply is not so has had important repercussions on Tory plans. As for West Derbyshire, whatever may have been the local issues affecting the results, the plain fact is that in the eyes of the country at large the West Derbyshire election represented, in a form as simple and dramatic as an old morality play, the fight between old England and the new, with the old as challenger. The blatant struggle of which everyone is aware had never been so externalized and dramatized at a previous by-election and the result, as might be expected, was a general electrification of the political atmosphere with corresponding moves by political parties to meet the new situation.

Listing some of these moves now in progress you get this rough picture. The Tories are realizing both the strength of the leftward swing of the country and the peril of relying exclusively on the prestige of the Prime Minister for postwar plans on a coalition ticket designed to bring them back with approximately the same power they have today. The Tories have certainly begun to consider the possibilities of a general election before the war's end—presumably at a moment when the military situation is visibly good but not so good that they might not hope that a call to rally the voters behind them as war leaders would not be without effect. There have even been threats made in certain Tory quarters during the last few days that if things go on as they are, the Tories will "feel compelled" to appeal to the country for a general election even before the opening of a second front. They would blame any confusion or military delays resulting from a general election on the public in general and the other parties in particular—parties whose uneasiness regarding certain aspects of present policies the Tories have done nothing to allay, and whose just demands for visible signs of a clear progressive postwar reconstruction policy the Tories have done nothing to meet.

IT MUST be kept in mind that a very large measure of public uneasiness is, in the last analysis, the result of feeling that there has been a certain "fall in the barometer" since the weeks immediately following Teheran, with signs that Tories are no less active in opposition to the whole Teheran political and military decisions than they are on the home front. There is a considerable group of right-wing Tories—expressing themselves three weeks ago in the Commons and a few days ago in a sinister feature article in the *Daily Mail*—who would welcome an early election on the calculation that even if the Tories lost some seats, the result would be likely to weaken the position of the Prime Minister and Anthony Eden within the Tory party itself. This would give the right wing better leverage for attacks on the Teheran policy, on the Premier's firm attitude on the Polish issue, and on the policy of "too drastic" future treatment of a defeated Germany.

In this connection it is notable that sections of German Social Democrats, supported by Labor Party publicists, are joining hands with the extreme right in expressing horror and alarm at the possibility that a new, powerful, and independent Poland will be built on the ruins and at the expense of imperial Germany. The mere thought, for instance, that the loss of Silesia by the German Reich would in fact go far to break the back of imperial Germany, industrially speaking, causes these people the gravest alarms and despondency. So you reach the ridiculous and disreputable situation wherein some of them actually declare that because the democratic forces, particularly in Eastern Europe, are determined to break forever Germany's capacity for *Drang nach Osten* and are very likely to destroy the very basis of a Bismarckian Reich in the process, the war has suddenly become an "imperialist" war and the "principles for which we are fighting" are being abandoned.

But returning to the survey of the new political positions being taken in Britain, it can be said that in the Liberal Party things are certainly boiling over. I am assured by people who certainly ought to know that unless the Liberal executive committee at its forthcoming party conference presents a resolution definitely giving the required three months' notice to quit the electoral truce so far as by-elections are concerned, there is a real possibility that the rank and file of the party will carry a much more extreme resolution calling for the withdrawal of their leader, Sir Archibald Sinclair, from the government. At the same time it is clear that some of the most important Liberal leaders are prepared to work actively for the unification or alliance of the progressive forces in the country.

In the Labor Party an important special meeting of the national executive held three weeks ago was called under pressure of the new political situation as shown in the by-elections and in response to the demands from its own left wing. The meeting was designed chiefly as a clarificatory discussion and sensational decisions were neither taken nor expected. It was not sensational that the Labor executive did not vote for the breaking of the electoral truce since nobody expected it would and hardly anyone—probably no one in the executive itself—wanted to do so at this time. Characteristic, however, was the first realization of the deep need of the country for practical assurances and guarantees of progressive postwar reconstruction; and secondly, the fact that the majority, though by no means the whole of the executive, agreed that, on the one hand, an election organized by this coalition government after the war is an impossibility, but that, on the other hand, the probability is that a free postwar election will produce a situation wherein it will be "desirable" to enter the new coalition headed, some of them prophesy and believe, by Anthony Eden.

The "progressive" members of the Labor leadership certainly did not appear depressed by the results of this unusually hush-hush meeting whereof no thorough account has yet been rendered to anyone. Certain it is that at least three prominent Labor leaders are, with extreme caution, putting out feelers towards the possibilities of some kind of progressive alliance, and it is significant that now for the first time those moving along these lines feel that they can rely on very extensive trade union backing.

THE Communist Party, which has announced that it is putting fifty-two candidates in the field in the next general

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election, supported the challenge to the Tory stronghold at Bury St. Edmunds offered by Mrs. Corbett Ashby, who ran under the slogan of "united progressive front." The *Daily Worker* is organizing for April two important unity conferences designed to bring together the widest possible progressive representation, including Labor people, trade unionists, Common Wealth and probably some Liberal representatives. The objective is to cement and strengthen the popular forces, now so alert but so divided, in support of the fullest implementation of the Teheran policy, the most efficient prosecution of the war, facing up to the most urgent problems of the second front, overcoming vested interests currently hampering the fullest mobilization of national resources and national will, particularly in the coal fields, and problems of postwar reconstruction which most intimately affect the well being and the morale of fighting and working men and women.

The Common Wealth group, which undoubtedly has acted as a rallying point for a good deal of public uneasiness and for public determination to declare its demand for a "better Britain after the war," seems inclined to align itself in a progressive front. Partly, however, because of its by-election associations with the Independent Labor Party and of a frequently highly opportunistic attitude on the part of some of its leaders, there are signs of a lack of clarity in Common Wealth circles regarding the primacy of the war and an anti-fascist victory over all other political demands. Thus, as a small instance, Common Wealth headquarters have called for a meeting of approximately thirty members of Parliament and others ostensibly for the purpose of organizing a committee and issuing a program of united progressive action. But they have invited to the preliminary meeting the whole of the Independent Labor Party Parliamentiary representation, and other leading ILP figures as well, with the result that either meeting will have to consider a program which does not recognize the anti-fascist war and its priority. Either the ILP people will have to disguise themselves dishonestly as genuine supporters of the war or they will have to go away almost as soon as they get there.

That then is a rapid survey of some of the latest political developments at home. Though I have spoken strictly of the domestic scene it would of course be a mistake not to see the close intermeshing of the domestic and external political situations. It would be equally mistaken to see any of the present agitation in the country as the product of an opposition policy to the maximum prosecution of the war until the total destruction of fascism. On the contrary. The fact is that people are agitated because they see what they believe to be evidence that dangerous reactionary influences are at work both in policies which hamper the war effort, in policies which seek the favor of Europe's reactionary elements, and in policies which seek to turn the promises of postwar reconstruction into mere pie in the sky. It is to defeat all these that progressive Britain is seeking a new unity.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

BOMBS WEST, MUD EAST

With the Italian front remaining an inconclusive side-show which has lasted six months without bringing more results than the tying up of *five percent* of the German combat divisions, the war in the European theater continues to center around the Eastern Front, with the so-called "air front" commanding often the lion's share of public attention, a share which is entirely incommensurate with the strategic results achieved.

There is no doubt that the organization, execution, and moral elements involved in the latest aerial "campaign" against Berlin and the sources of supply of the Luftwaffe are amazing. The strategic results achieved are another story. I have so often expressed my opinion on this score that I prefer to quote the opinions of other, and more authoritative, sources. I have before me Drew Middleton's cable from London in the New York *Times*, dated March 10—at the conclusion of a record-breaking week of daylight attacks by the USAAF on Berlin. Mr. Middleton writes:

"In the opinion of many invasion leaders, including those whose task it is to prepare the path with strategic bombing, the resumption of the Soviet offensive and the opening of the American campaign against the Luftwaffe have opened a new and perhaps penultimate phase of the war.

"In the minds of the ground commanders this is chiefly associated with the breaking up of German units on the Russian front. They feel that the defeat of the German Army in Russia with the consequent reinforcements from Germany is more important than the destruction of the Luftwaffe. *They point out that although the Allies enjoy air superiority in Italy, progress has been disappointingly slow because of the ability of German divisions on the defense. Despite the heavy bombing and little, if any, support from the Luftwaffe, enemy divisions are offering the stiffest defense to the Allies' advance.* It is their opinion that the splitting up and rout of Field Marshal von Mannstein's armies, which they believe will be the result of the present Soviet campaign, *will force the Germans to withdraw a considerable number of divisions not only from the strategic reserve in Germany but from two fronts that are vital to the western Allies: Italy and western Europe.*" (My emphasis—Col. T.) So here you have the story in a nutshell, with your military commentator siding wholeheartedly with the "ground commanders."

The only *tangible* (i.e., *measurable*) result of the big bombing onslaughts on Germany this week has been the destruction of 301 German planes. Well, that many are being destroyed, without the benefit of fanfare, on the Eastern front every week, and have been for one hundred and forty weeks.

Goebbels has been spouting about the "terrible ordeal of the bombings." Some simple souls have attributed this to a desire to "stiffen the popular opposition in America to the bombing of German cities." Nonsense. He probably did it to "stiffen" Allied strategy in its determination to give "air power alone" one more try, and then another, and another.

Now let us see what an outstanding Soviet airman, Lieutenant-General Sterligoff, had to say on the subject in *Red Star*, only a week ago (as reported in the New York *Herald Tribune*, March 10):

" 'Foreign military specialists say these operations are strategic bombing—designed to weaken the war effort, disrupt transport and break down morale. The role of the bomber is extremely great, but it doesn't mean it can solve any strategic problems,' he declared.

" 'Some foreign observers seek to prove that by air raids it is possible completely to demoralize Hitlerite Germany, deprive it of the capacity to resist and eventually force it to capitulate. There is no necessity to disprove this theory, because the battles of the second world war have sufficiently proved the infallibility of the principle that the issues

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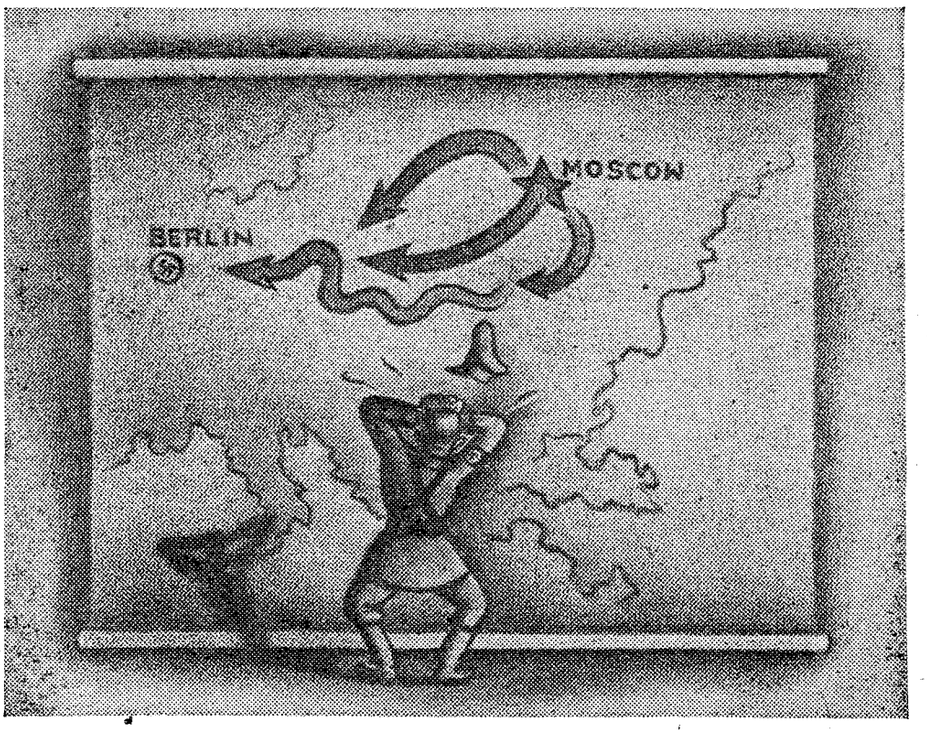
of the war can be decided only by the active operations of a land army of many millions in cooperation with air and sea forces.'

"He added that this did not reduce the significance of strategic aerial preparation for a land invasion."

As to tactical results, the Anzio bridgehead offers a quite convincing, albeit a puny example: we have been using everything but the kitchen stove to bomb the German positions around the beachhead repeatedly, but have not been able to crack them for weeks. Obviously air power, even tactically speaking, is no panacea.



Cartoon from "About Adolf," an unpublished book by A. Blashko.

IT IS lucky indeed for the cause of the United Nations that neither mud nor sleet nor the floods of spring can stay the Red Army from the swift completion of its appointed operations. Had our "bombing only" strategy been suddenly faced by a spring stalemate on the Eastern Front, lasting from, say, the middle of March to the end of May, the Germans would have had plenty of time to recover from the present rout in Russia, consolidate their positions and "harden" for the coming invasion. The latter would have been much costlier.

However, thank heaven, the Red Army can move through mud and the Germans cannot. German tanks and self-propelled guns stick in the ooze. Soviet tanks and self-propelled guns get through, and very fast at that. During the past week (this is being written on March 12) one of the greatest military operations was launched when Marshal Zhukov, now in command of the First Ukrainian Army (instead of General Vatutin, who became ill and had to be hospitalized), struck a mighty blow near the westernmost tip of the 500-mile Ukrainian line. He struck from Rovno, Shepetovka, and Berdichev, toward Tarnopol, Proskurov, and Zhmerinka (all three key junctions on the Lvov-Odessa railroad). His march was seemingly aimed at the Carpathians and the complete cutting of the strategic corridor between the Pripet Marshes and the mountains (a corridor which is about 225 miles wide, through which one double-track trunk line runs from Odessa to Lvov, and another single track line skirts the Carpathians in the same direction). Marshal Zhukov has blocked Tarnopol and Proskurov, having cut the main line between these junctions on a forty-mile front. This entailed an advance through the mud of Volynia of fifty miles in three days and the routing of a dozen German divisions.

Marshal Zhukov has reached the Bug River northwest of Zhmerinka. Thus this water barrier covering the entire length of the Proskurov-Odessa section of the vital railroad is about to be cracked and Vinnitza and Zhmerinka are in danger. Zhukov's vanguards now stand seventy miles from the Pruth, or from the Carpathian mountains which the river skirts. Thus two-thirds of the "corridor" has been closed (the border of Czechoslovakia is 100 miles away, and that of Rumania eighty-five miles away).

Twenty-four hours after Marshal Zhukov struck, or on Monday, March 6, two other powerful Soviet offensives were unleashed in the bend of the Dnieper. From the area where the German Eighth Army had been annihilated in the Korsun pocket eighteen days earlier, Marshal Konev struck out southward and inflicted on the Germans in the area of Uman one of the most crushing and demoralizing defeats they have suffered since Stalingrad. Six panzer, seven infantry and one artillery division were completely routed. And when we say routed we *mean* routed, because along a twenty-mile stretch of flight, between the river Gorny Tikich and Uman, the Germans lost 500 tanks and self-propelled guns captured, and 600 field guns captured, along with 12,000 trucks. Two hundred of the tanks were "Tigers" and "Panthers," in complete running order. That is the *German* lend-lease the Red Army is getting. Twenty thousand enemy corpses remained on the battlefield and 2,500 German officers and men were captured.

The offensive develops in a southerly direction and aims at cutting the two railroad lines running westward inside the bend of the Dnieper and joining the Lvov-Odessa line at Vapnyarka and Rudnitza. (As this goes to press news has come through that Konev has captured Gaivoron, thus cutting both these lines.) The terrific loss of materiel by the Germans is an indication that a rout has set in, at least in this particular sector. As usual in Soviet strategy, Marshal Konev *struck at the strongest concentration of enemy power, instead of nibbling at the weak spots.*

The day Zhukov struck, the Commander-in-Chief of the Third Ukrainian Front, General Malinovsky, got his offensive under way again—he had paused for about two weeks after capturing Krivoi Rog—and is thrusting in two parallel columns toward the ports of Kherson and Nikolaev. One column is sliding along the western bank of the Dnieper and the other moves just east of the Ingul River and parallel to it. Both great ports are about thirty miles away at this writing. The aim of the gigantic operation which has already inflicted a crushing defeat on thirty-seven German divisions in one week is:

1. Cutting off from Poland and Germany, the fifty to sixty German divisions now in the space between Tarnopol, Czernowitz, Odessa, Kherson, Novo-Ukrainka, Vinnitza, and Proskurov (an area of approximately 30,000 square miles), and forcing what will be left of them into Rumania and south of the Carpathians (main goal).

2. Splitting this huge enemy concentration into three or four slices (subsidiary goal).

And on the very morning of the day when it was announced that Marshal Konev had inflicted the crushing defeat at Uman on the Germans, Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the New York *Times*, wrote a piece which bore a subhead: "Nazis Hold On In Russia." But "only the grave shall correct the hunchback," as the Russian proverb says.

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READERS' FORUM

Professors and Ideas

TO NEW MASSES: In his article "Educating the Colleges" in a recent issue of NEW MASSES, William Kerman describes the professors who had taught a student friend, and analyzes their bankruptcy. Without knowing what college the student attended, one can bet that those same professors are in the habit of complaining about the poor quality of their students.

To blame the professors or to blame the students for the condition of the colleges is to miss the point. In seizing upon a ready-to-hand but faulty explanation, we fail to get at the causes of the palsy which is undoubtedly spreading in the colleges.

Mr. Kerman's main charge against the colleges is that they have failed to give leadership in our time—specifically, that they failed to prepare us for the war. To accuse the colleges of failing to give leadership is to imply that we might have expected otherwise, that we might have expected the colleges to shape the course of events. Mr. Kerman's indictment, in fact, is based upon the typically liberal and idealistic assumption that it is education that shapes the course of events—that the colleges, so to speak, mold men who then go out and mold history. We should not be surprised that an argument based on so incomplete a premise leads to Mr. Kerman's conclusion—does he really mean it?—that he would just as soon see the liberal colleges perish. This is as if you should raise your son to be President, and then, when he turned out to be only an insurance man, disown him.

Only when we bear in mind that the colleges are shaped by class relationships can we appraise them correctly. One of the consequences of past class relationships survives in the fear of systematized ideas among most professors. The typical college professor today does not take hold of a system of ideas which integrates his branch of learning, and teach and defend these ideas. He fears theory, in the large sense. History as it is written and taught today consists of a collection of facts, unintegrated by theory. The same is true of the social sciences—save that professors of the social sciences sometimes set down a collection of theories relating to their subject and describe what they call the good and bad points of each. This method of handing the student a hodgepodge of theories is almost as effective as giving him none at all. No influence could be more damaging to the essential business of a college than this fear of theory. For in the life of the mind, facts alone do not have much importance. It is only *related* facts, facts connected with one another, facts made significant and given *meaning*—in a word, it is only theory that counts.

It is because of the avoidance of theory in teaching that students so often ask, "Why are we *learning this? What is it all for?*" Were facts taught as a part of connected theory, such questions would rarely be asked, for theory appeals so strongly, even to the relatively untrained mind, as to make the student feel that knowledge is its own end, that learning has a sufficient reward in the pleasure of understanding. When the student is offered facts without theory, on the other hand, it is a sign of intellectual health that he protests and asks why.

SECOND, the neglect of theory in history and the social sciences has a parallel in the liberal arts. In the arts, just as much as in the social sciences, what we study needs to be related to general ideas about the development of society and consequent changes in the human spirit, if *the study is to have meaning. In studying Shelley,* we must understand that the rebellion and despair which he expressed were connected with the high expectations and disappointed hopes of the era *in which a middle class revolution converted* itself into reaction. But to teach the subject in this way would be to introduce too many ideas which, in being extended to our own time, have long been regarded as "dangerous." (Newman Ivey White's great biography of Shelley is an exception to the usual academic approach.) To give meaning to the art of the Renaissance, one should show what social changes made possible that great period of experiment in human fulfillment, and one should show how class relations later stifled and altered the spirit of the Renaissance. But to do this would be to introduce a way of looking at human experience which could too easily be extended to our day and which leads to inquiries about the class relations which thwart the development of the spirit now. The professors were not willing to embark upon so dangerous an exploration.

Because they have not been prepared to teach the liberal arts in the only way that could give them their proper meaning, the professors have come either to teach them as half accomplishment and half amusement or else to convert the substance of the arts into the raw material for bibliography, linguistics, and minute research. The liberal arts, as the late Irving Babbitt used to say, are divided between the dilettantes and the bibliographers. God help the poor sophomore who takes a course with either one! Only if he bucks the current and learns for himself will he acquire a sense of what the arts can mean.

A third consequence of the class position of the colleges is that the quality of thinking on the faculty is not remarkably high. When the war broke out in 1939, it was interesting to observe the reactions of faculty members—men who, one would think, had had time in the twenty years between the two wars to do serious thinking about the great problem of modern times. Wars, one would hear, are caused by selfishness, and we will not put an end to wars till we have eradicated selfishness in individuals. Wars are caused by certain races, and we will not stop wars till these races have been shackled or exterminated. Wars —I was told by a professor of home economics— are caused by a deficiency of Vitamin B.

Can there be any doubt as to the reason for this sort of shallow thinking? The silent pull of the class relationships of the college inhibited the development of the only kind of thinking—a theory about wars, in this instance—that can stand the test of truth. To fill the void, the professors repeated shabby half-truths—and found that they were taken seriously, instead of being laughed out of court, as they should have been. The doctrine of freedom of opinion protects them. (Freedom of opinion too often acts as a safeguard to all sorts of quackery but fails when it comes to freedom to speak the truth.)

A FOURTH consequence is what Mr. Kerman calls the college's "spiritual hollowness and sterility, openly verging on cynicism." The prevailing temper of the colleges is unquestionably one of cynicism in a period which calls for a more positive approach, and the only positive approach is to throw oneself into the struggle for democracy and the liberation of the common man. Because of the inhibitions created by class relationships, the professors do not, save for a few exceptions, take this path. So it is that they remain stuck in a sterile cynicism. Have the colleges come to such a pass, then, that we should willingly let them perish, as Mr. Kerman suggests? There is no more reason to be hopeless about the colleges than to be hopeless about the country. In the colleges, as in America as a whole, there is much to find fault with, but there is much too that is sound, uncorrupted, and full of promise.

It is even possible to get a liberal education in the colleges today, though it is not easy. The colleges still have some professors whose minds are stout and uncorrupted. More important, most colleges have a small band of fighters, men who teach theory which they believe to be sound. Such men are always under fire. Sometimes they keep their jobs when the pressure is applied, sometimes, as in the Rapp-Coudert investigations, they lose them. These men keep the integrity of the college tradition alive.

GAYLORD C. LE ROY.

(Mr. Le Roy is assistant professor of English at the University of Hawaii.)

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FATE OF THE CLASSICS

By BARROWS DUNHAM

IN APRIL 1943 my friend and colleague Professor Vlachos died. I use the pronoun not to suggest any special claim upon his friendship, for he was abundantly generous of regard toward all. He withheld from no one that lively scholarship which was his peculiar genius; and his influence has long passed, with obscure but resistless movement, into lives that never touched his own.

On the contrary, I call him "my" friend to indicate a bounty I have enjoyed. For Dr. Vlachos carried about him an ample portion of the treasure which Greece and Rome stored up. He watched over it not as a miser, to gloat and retain, but as a steward, to nurture and dispense. Seeing in him the ancient culture not only alive but youthfully contemporary, I grew curious to discover the secret. Partly, no doubt, it was in him an exceptional capacity of temperament. More especially, however, it was an understanding of how ancient culture must be related to modern times: its present social relevancy. And this is what I want to discuss in the pages which follow.

The decline of classical studies has for forty years been the plainest fact in educational history. Indeed, the decline has now gone so far that its merits have largely ceased to be debated. Twenty years ago the pro-classicists were hotly engaged with the anti-classicists, the former claiming for Greek and Latin great virtue in mind training and general cultivation, the latter insisting that a knowledge of those languages will sell no goods—not even to modern Greeks. Thousands of schoolboys suddenly received a vocation to enter South American trade, and therefore studied Spanish; while the esthetes, the culture-bearers, went to Paris, and therefore studied French. Beneath these surface phenomena, the basic nature of our society, multiplying technologies and conflicts at the same time, made the study of science natural and social—supremely important.

There is a kind of anarchism among scholars, a disposition to defend only one's own field of study with no regard to the necessary defense of all. This anarchism, which passes under the proud title of "intellectual independence," exhibits in fact no independence at all but only the servile surrender of one discipline after another to hostile social forces. Teachers of science and teachers of the humanities have from time to time joined in the attacks upon classical studies as a means of proving their own loyalty to things "practical," i.e., commercially profitable. Thus shaken with inner conflict, the academic world presents a weakened front to its adversaries. And its adversaries are led by a man who is reputed to have said, "When I hear the word 'culture,' I reach for my gun."

Thus the defense of the clasiscs is no longer, and indeed never should have been, the private task of those who profess

them. It is part of the defense of the humanities generally and of science, for fascists are no less hostile to science than to literature and the arts. The anti-rationalism on which fascist ideology is founded is expressly intended to sterilize human culture at the root. Surely it is plain that our defense is ill-served by aloofness from the conflict, by divisions within our ranks, by misjudgment of the main enemy.

FIVE years ago illusions of cloistered security still clouded our view. The same wavering and hesitation which made Hitler's victory in Germany possible appeared also on a world scale to assist him. One might hope that now, when we and other nations are fighting for bare existence, all scholars would enter the fight with every weapon at their command. Yet that hope remains feeble. Committees for the defense of the humanities, instead of proposing ways to make the humanities serve us in the present crisis, are evolving plans for the "recovery" of them after the war. Art, literature, and philosophy are to be laid away in cold storage, whence, amiably refrigerated, they will be withdrawn by a world at peace. That world, apparently not much different from the old, will permit us scholars to resume where we were interrupted.

What are these doctrines but the ivory tower in a new guise? If art and literature are really blessings to man, if philosophy is really the guide of human life, when can they better perform their offices than in time of man's desperate need? A people animated by knowledge of its own cultural heritage fights more vigorously on that account. It is just such knowledge that we profess to have been teaching. Are we now to admit, in action if not in word, that what we taught has nothing to do with present struggle and future victory, that we have provided sources of occasional comfort but none of permanent salvation? If so, we make it plain to all the world that opportunities for social evasion are by no means so scarce that scholars cannot find them.

These doctrines contain two other errors. They presume, for one thing, that a world at peace will return to the humanities in their *ante bellum* state. I think this is exremely doubtful. If the Axis powers win, there will be no humanities in any state, frozen or unfrozen. If the United Nations win and inaugurate something akin to Mr. Wallace's century of the common man, then the humanities will undoubtedly have fertile soil to grow in. But what will the common man think of disciplines which in the hour of his trial lent him no aid? And if we protest that we were all along his friends, may he not justly inquire where we were when the test came? I think that all our lexicons and glossaries, our commentaries and compendiums, our prolegomena and summations will not convince him. Nor should they.

The second error is implicit in the first. It is the supposition that the after-war world will be very much like the old. Doubtless it is founded upon some facile generalization to the effect that wars are merely interruptions of "normal" routine. In point of fact, wars are no such thing. They arise from the attempts of certain nations to solve their inner conflicts by foreign conquests. There ensues a period of struggle in which all previous (not "normal") social relations are broken up and remolded. The world which emerges is new, though not necessarily better. Society gives birth to culture as to war. When wars transform society, shall they not transform culture, too?

And indeed they have. At the end of World War I scholars had the impression that they were returning to the same old

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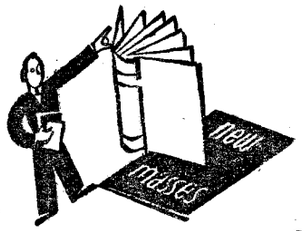

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books and continuing their studies in the same old way. The supply of doctoral dissertations on recondite subjects maintained a gratifying abundance; and philosophers, having just assisted at a mass burial of pragmatists, busied themselves with digging graves for one another. There came a time when Professor Watson reminded middle-class Americans that they had no souls but only nervous systems; while some theologians asserted in reply that they, for their part, had no nervous systems but only souls. As the year 1929 approached, various consciences, uneasy in the presence of prosperity, announced the futility of human life. And then, with most of the world in economic torment, with millions starving and fascism preparing a new world war, logical positivism arrived in America to assure us that all problems are merely verbal, all difficulties merely semantic.

Such, in retrospect, is the face of American scholarship and philosophy in the epoch between wars. Will anyone pretend that this melange of vague optimism and preposterous pessimism, this resolute preoccupation with the trivial and the unreal, compares with the still confident, still broad-visioned scholarship of the years before 1914? It does not; and from that fact we ought to realize that World War I, whose results belied its ideals, changed western scholarship profoundly. The present war, in which yet deeper social forces are at work, will certainly produce a world more obviously new. Scholars who regard the war as an "interruption" will either be lost in bewildering novelty or secure in familiar illusions. Either of these alternatives will be the death of scholarship.

And if scholarship dies, what then? Well, the human past will become for most people a closed book, a mysterious legend compounded of obscure acts and dark intentions. The triumphs of scientific history will be canceled, the separation of fact from fiction lost. Men who once were scholars will devote themselves to inventing idiocies about race and fables about politics. The test of doctrines will be not whether they are true but whether they protect the powerful. Impossible, one may think. But it has happened. A nation whose scholars were once admired everywhere for their meticulous and detailed accuracy has been for ten years bound in just such a darkness. It is too seldom observed that the Nazis' first victim was German culture itself.

If scholars participate in the present struggles, then, it will be not simply to defend a profession by which they earn a livelihood. It will also be to preserve some measure of social usefulness. In such an enterprise, what are we specifically to do?

Well, in the first place, we must recognize the truth that there will be as much scholarship in the world as there is democracy. Force and ignorance are the two chief weapons of tyrants. Indeed, the imposition of ignorance has in some areas of the world gone so far as to leave whole populations illiterate. The fascist mind looks darkly upon scholarship, upon "professors" generally. Sometimes we are attacked directly; more often we are made ineffectual through isolation from our fellowmen. The frontal attacks we readily perceive and combat, but isolation seems to have a potent charm.

Our tendency toward isolation is due in part to a failure to recognize what the democratic forces are. They are reasonably obvious, and cynics might observe that only a scholar could overlook them. They appear in those national political systems which grant to their citizens at least the elementary rights essential to self-government. They appear also in those organizations which have arisen from the people to satisfy the people's needs: consumer groups, cooperatives, labor unions, organizations for racial improvement, organizations (like the Indian National Congress) representing submerged populations. There may have been times when scholarship was compatible with social prejudice, but such times exist no longer. Fascism has forever destroyed those idylls, if idylls they were.

I SUPPOSE it may seem paradoxical to say that scholars must ally themselves with vast numbers of people who have no knowledge of scholarship at all. History, however, dictates this alliance. It is not merely a temporary expedient for the defeat of a common enemy. It is the product of four centuries of development. Modern scholarship, science, and political democracy were all born together—born of the revolutions which destroyed feudalism, born of the struggle against ignorance enforced by authority. The early translators of the Bible, for example, did their work under threat of death. Their courageous application of scholarly knowledge to contemporary needs made possible the higher criticism of the nineteenth century—made possible, that is to say, a really accurate interpretation of original sources. But all this would have been quite impossible without the growth of science and the scientific attitude, without the growth also of freedom of speech and of research such as political democracy guarantees. In unity, science, scholarship, and democracy can win all battles. In separation none can survive.

If, therefore, scholars remain who measure the value of research by its inutility, who prize dead languages precisely because they are dead, who employ the classics as a foundation for snobbery, let them withdraw from our notice. The future is not for them, nor the past either. The road they tread leads, as Ezra Pound can tell them, to fascist broadcasts over the Rome radio and to such rewards as accompany those exercises. The rest of us will, I hope, join in resisting oppression, we who are scholars learning how to learn from the unschooled and how to adapt our knowledge to their needs.

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And this is our second main problem: how to make our knowledge useful. In this respect scientists have an obvious advantage over us. Without their aid no modern war can be fought and no modern state maintain itself. On the other hand, it is, I am afraid, characteristic of our society that culture always seems to be something one can do without. I think that such a view is false, but its falsity will be demonstrated less by formal proof than by our rendering culture constantly applicable.

Let us consider, for example, the present emergency. War, of course, involves the mobilization of vast economic and scientific resources, but it also involves many value-judgments about the justice of one's cause and the kind of future one hopes to establish.

For combatants and non-combatants alike war is full of difficult choices, of perplexing and contradictory forces. It is not always easy to determine the precise nature of a war, let alone its merits. And even though no decision perhaps can claim absolute certainty, there will remain a profound difference between informed and uninformed opinion.

Now here, I think, all scholars can play a part, and classicists by no means least among them. A knowledge of ancient literature and philosophy sheds a good deal of light on such problems, provided we recognize the differences between a slave society and our own.

Let us illustrate:

Fascism is, among other things, a system of taboos consciously invented and consciously enforced. You must not associate with Jews or Negroes; you must not utter the words "freedom," "international," "union," etc.; you must not speak ill of the leader; you must not fail to give the ritualistic salute on proper occasions; you must not think, but only feel. Well, Greek ethics was originally a system of taboos, though not produced so artificially and *ad hoc*. Philosophically it is a great leap from a society fortified by taboos to Plato's ideal of a society organized on scientific principles. Yet Greek thought made that leap in about one century, and thereby enormously advanced man's political point of view. Our knowledge of this priceless contribution helps us to perceive how retrograde fascism is. For we now recognize that fascism intends to reduce mankind to the cultural level of primitive peoples.

Again: Thucydides tells us that when Mytilene was besieged by the Athenian fleet, the common people, having got arms, refused to defend the city unless the nobles should "bring out the corn and let all share alike." Rather than make such a concession the aristocracy surrendered to the Athenians. Incredible? But Thucydides was an accurate historian. Well, then, an example merely of the bad old days? By no means, for it parallels very closely the fall of France in 1940. The aristocracy of Mytilene understood perfectly well the meaning of appeasement long before the advent of Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier. A case of the Old Adam, then? Not exactly, for we perceive that the events at Mytilene issued from a conflict between social groups within the Greek *polis*.

Out of these considerations an interesting result emerges. We find that not only does our knowledge of the past contribute to an understanding of the present, but our knowledge of the present contributes to an understanding of the past. And this is what we are especially interested in as scholars. However accurate an ancient historian may have been, he is nevertheless an *ancient* historian. He does not have the scientific knowledge of social forces which is now available. The modern historian has it because modern society developed it by reflection upon its own struggles. I think it is reasonable to expect that our understanding of past cultures will continue to grow as we ourselves progress toward a resolution of present conflicts. In this sense every aid which scholars give to man's achievement of a harmonious society will be at the same time a contribution to scholarship itself.

Lastly, I think we should understand much more clearly the influence which classical culture has had upon all succeeding societies. We know how the Greeks felt about their own art and literature. We know that to the Romans "being cultured" meant being as much like the Greeks as possible. We know that the medievals erected their philosophy upon an ingenious, if insecure, union of Aristotle and Christianity. But I wonder whether we are sufficiently aware what the classics have meant to that commercial and industrial society which we call modern.

Well, the fact is that the middle class, in its overthrow of feudalism, seized upon the classics as a potent weapon. The reflective Greeks and the practical Romans both had an interest in man and his place in nature which was extremely congenial to the new spirit. That spirit, which planned and in large part has achieved a conquest of the physical world, had first to defeat all notions of man's insignificance and helplessness. So valuable was classical learning in this enterprise that it infected even the opposition. It was a papal secretary who, with the aid of the new scholarship and the permission of his Pope, exposed the forgery of the Donation of Constantine.

And the power of the classics continued. In the seventeenth century Milton used his enormous classical erudition to smite the enemies of Cromwell. The French Revolution of the eighteenth century appeared alternately as the Roman republic and as the Roman empire, even to details of dress and architecture. And later, Victor Hugo, in his always spacious view of human progress, saw it in the union of modern science and classic art:

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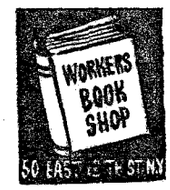

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Newton
Monté sur l'ode de Pindare.

(Man at last takes up his sceptre
and throws away his stick.
And Newton's calculations may be
seen flying high, mounted on the
Pindaric ode.)

Thus, until fairly recent times, the classics moved in the forefront of great events. Then their social significance begins to fade into purely ornamental uses, as in Parliamentary debates. And we come at last to the inevitable schoolboy, construing Caesar as he would a cryptogram.

If, then, the recent past shows a decline in classical studies, all previous history shows that they can be important. We can help them recover a measure of glory, if we will. But to do so, we shall have to turn from textual criticism and palaeography to a much more formidable task—the reinterpretation of one whole epoch for the benefit of another. The Greeks sought wisdom, and sometimes found it. The Romans sought empire, and learned the bitter insecurity of autocratic rule. Surely in these accumulated experiences of ancient peoples there is much of value to the modern man.

There, too, we shall find not only instruction but a measure of hope. Although the ancients were fond of looking backward to a golden age, they had in their best years a confidence in the present and some prospect of achievement in the future. Those are but timid and narrow scholars who would restrict Vergil's prophetic lines to the limits of polite compliment to Pollio. Our tumultuous and expectant age must see in them, rather, some substance of its own desire:

Aspice convexo nutantem pondere
mundum,
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque
profundum:
aspice venturo laetentur ut omnia
saeclo!

(Behold the universe swaying with its
vaulted mass,
Behold the lands and the expanses of the
sea and the deep skies:
Behold how all things rejoice in the age
that is to come!)

Or, as the Vergilian soul, reborn in Nicholas Vlachos, might add: Man will fully recover his past when he has made himself lord of the future.

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FILM NEWS

By JOSEPH FOSTER

JACK LONDON's life was full of zest, turbulence, intellectual curiosity, and adventure. He lived during the Roosevelt "big stick" period of American imperialist expansion, a social era which saw the small entrepreneur give way to growing monopoly capital. He was part of the generation that sweated through a couple of panics and lived the life beautiful on the ten-hour-day, ten-cents-an-hour work schedule. London was made to order for a biographer, movie or otherwise. It is hard to see how any one could miss. Yet United Artists, in its current film *Jack London*, has treated the original with a fine coat of mildew.

The picture opens with a preamble of fine words and respect for London's achievements. Because of his life and work, it was easier for future generations to speak out on behalf of the lowly and the downtrodden, says the introduction. But it turns out that this prologue was merely an exercise in fanning the breeze. What follows has nothing in common with these brave sentiments. London the socialist, the student, the champion of the exploited, has nothing to do with the film. Occasionally the movie touches the bare bones of biographical verisimilitude in noting that he was by turn factory worker, oyster pirate, seaman, seal hunter, gold prospector, novelist, correspondent—but neither the man nor his ideas ever come through.

As I watched this picture I was reminded of *University of Life*, a Soviet film on the life of Gorky. There was nothing in the American film on London specifically to justify any comparison, except that in each case the film dealt with the formative years of an important social writer. In *University of Life*, the writer is born in the boy at school. You can see the process at work. Like London, Gorky was poor and had to work for his subsistence. Both hated poverty and the causes of poverty. In the Gorky film you understand why. In the American film you get nary an inkling.

If the writers have neglected history in the first part of the screen play they have laid it on with a trowel in the last section. Here Jack London is a correspondent covering the Russo-Japanese War. He scoops all the other newspapermen, including the fabulous Richard Harding Davis. He gets to the front lines, meets a Captain Tanaka, who in no time at all acquaints him with Japan's imperialist aims. This happens a full twenty-three years, mind you, before the publication of the Tanaka Memorial, blue-print of Japan's plan for world conquest. When London asks Tanaka why he confides such important plans to anyone, the captain answers that London won't believe him anyhow. Now, I ask you. . . .

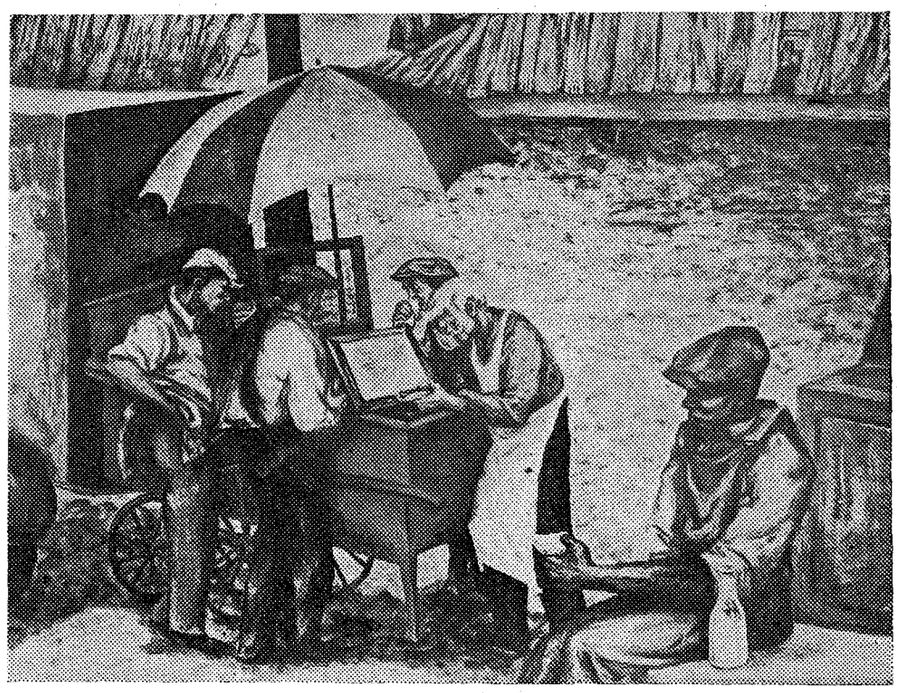
The aim of the picture obviously is to show the Japanese in their true colors, to indicate that the Japs' present aims had their beginnings in the past, that the cruelty and barbarism of the fascists of the East is part of their national policy. Nobody can object to this thesis, but you can't present the case plausibly by tearing the cover off a man's credulity.

London comes steaming back from the Orient full of the "Yellow Peril" pap. He promises to shout it from the housetops. United Artists' advertising department does it for him, judging by the screaming ads that appear in the daily papers.

Maybe it is no accident that the film completely neglects the important writings of Jack London on the vitality of socialism, on his crusades against slums, sweatshops, and poverty, and blows the roof off by loudly trumpeting London's participation in the Hearst-made hysteria. It could just barely be that *Jack London* wastes its substance on headlines and highlights, rather than on the bone and muscle of its subject, deliberately. One of the writers is a lad who goes by the name of Isaac Don Levine.

EVERY year ten thousand members of the Hollywood Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences select the best in the various categories of motion picture work. The final awards this year, the sixteenth in the series, are noteworthy, not so much for the selected winners as for certain films that lost out. It is to the credit of the studio workers, directors, writers, technicians, actors, and producers, that they were impervious to high pressure campaigns by various companies to have this or that of their entries considered for the Oscar. For instance, magazines, trade papers, advertisements, articles, publicity, and exploitation plumped for *Song of Bernadette*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *In Which We Serve*, and *The Human Comedy*, but Warner Brothers' *Casablanca* copped the award. Others in the running were *Oxbow Incident*, *Watch on the Rhine*, *Madame Curie*, *Heaven Can Wait*, and *The More the Merrier*. How such first rate films as *Action in the North Atlantic*, *Sahara*, and *Hangmen Also Die* were omitted from consideration we'll never know.

I would like to say a word for *Hang-*



"Rations," by Mervin Jules. One of the first choice pictures at the Fur Dressers and Dyers exhibit (reviewed on page 30).

Courtesy Artist Associates

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men. Here is a film that treats with uncommon understanding and sensitivity one of the most troublesome issues of underground Europe. It must require the staunchest will power, the sharpest political understanding, the toughest kind of spirit for people in subjugated Europe to see men and women hostages go to their deaths for the acts of others. The temptation to "sing" to the Nazi authorities at times, especially if a relative is involved, must be almost irresistible. How to handle such an issue has been the problem of all writers dealing with films about the underground, especially when the characters involved are politically immature. *Hangmen* does a beautiful job with this problem and if this is no criterion for picking prize-winners, I'd like to know what is.

In my book, the first four deserving of consideration would be *Watch on the Rhine, Sahara, Hangmen Also Die*, and *Action in the North Atlantic. Casablanca*, which deals with the war only tangentially, is, however, far superior to the pretentious *Song of Bernadette* and to the others so highly publicized.

Norman Krasna received a statue for the best original story *(Princess O'Rourke)*, but my selection would go to Robert Russel and Frank Ross for their equally witty but far weightier *The More the Merrier*. I think you would have to travel far to find a better choice than Paul Lukas for the best acting job *(Watch on the Rhine)* but not so far to find a more deserving choice than Michael Curtiz as leading director *(Casablanca)*. I feel a more solid selection could have been made with either Alexander Korda *(Sahara)* or Fritz Lang *(Hangmen)*. Screen play honors went to the Epstein brothers and Howard Koch *(Casablanca* again), but by now you must have guessed that much as I liked their job, my preferences would run to either John Howard Lawson *(Sahara)* or John Wexley *(Hangmen Also Die)*.

Best documentary for the year was the English *Desert Victory*. Although one of the best of this category to come out of the war, I don't think it holds a candle to *Stalingrad, City That Stopped Hitler*. This film has all the military action of *Desert Victory* plus a human quality that *Desert* completely lacks.

The Irving Thalberg award went to Hal B. Wallis as the best producer of the year. When a studio comes along that tops Warners' brilliant record of the year, it may be time to disagree with this award. Until then Wallis hasn't even got a runner up.

The Furriers' Exhibit

LAST week the Joint Board of the Fur Dressers and Dyers, with the help of the cooperative gallery, Artist Associates, set up an exhibition of paintings and drawings in the foyer of the Joint Board's offices in New York. Got together as part of the observation of Negro History Week, the show undertook to portray the "Negro in American Life and Art," and ranged from a large oil ("Southern Terror") by James Turnbull, showing two Negroes hiding from the hunting Klan, to a simple head of Frederick Douglass and the decorative silk screen prints of Hugo Gellert's illustrations for *The Century of the Common Man*. There were bold sketches for a mural at Hampton Institute of Harriet Tubman and Peter Still (reproduced in NEW MASSES, March 7) by Charles White; an oil of Lincoln by DeGrange; "Midday Meal," by Zoltan Hecht; "Rations," by Mervin Jules; Sid Gotcliffe's "International Brigadier"; a portrait of Marian Anderson by Ladislas Segy, and several score other works in varying styles and media.

In the center of the room was a box for ballots, where visitors might vote for their first choice picture, were asked for their criticisms and whether they wanted more exhibitions. A head of Frederick Douglass by Daniel Koerner had the most first choice votes at the time I visited the exhibition, with Mervin Jules', Zoltan Hecht's, and James Turnbull's pictures following closely.

The comments with the ballots are often extensive, and read us lessons on both the uses of culture and the desire for it outside the little world of sophisticates. One of those who chose the Douglass head wrote: "It depicts the native determination of Douglass as he really was," and adds, "It brings to the average person a better appreciation of art." Another writes, "I like the pictures of Joe Louis and Paul Robeson because to me they reflect the strength and maturity of the new Negro. These exhibits are invaluable and we should have more." One chose James Turnbull's "Southern Terror" because of "its stark drama and its truth"; another, Hecht's "Mid-day Meal," because "It shows a group of Negroes enjoying noontime lunch like all free people can enjoy." Another found it "reminds us what freedom means to all of us," and added, "Yes, more exhibits." One had "no criticism." "I think the workers should see more of these," he wrote, "and they would understand how the Negro had to suffer and still does."

Not all the comments are political. A card suggesting that the exhibit be toured "throughout the USA" remarked that "Charles White's dynamic concentration of form is overwhelming." Nor are they all complimentary. One wrote, "Very interesting. Shows the workingman's ambitions. Frankly speaking I really do not like the

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pictures. Some are good. Some are to the extreme so unreal nowadays. For example, one is not real at all. Matter of fact it doesn't look like a person—more like an animal. Matter of fact I like art, but something beautiful, also with a good background. Most of the pictures made me feel sorry for the Negro as a whole."

These are only a few of the comments, but they sketch for us what can be done and what needs to be done. There should be more such exhibits where busy people of all walks of life who have no time to make pilgrimages to the marble corridors of the museums or the carpeted galleries of Fifty-seventh Street can see them. And it should not happen in the future that when enterprising people set about such an undertaking as the "Negro in American Life and Art," they should be really put to it to find the material from which to make it.

VIRGINIA SHULL.

Modern Minstrel

RICHARD DYER-BENNET, who wishes to be known as a "Twentieth Century Minstrel," recently offered a program of ballads which should do much to demonstrate the aptness of the title he has chosen for himself. For, if he wishes to denote an orientation to these times, let it be said at once that of the ballads he sang, none was archaic, or of academic interest alone. Through the entire concert there rose the voice of the people, gusty, full-bodied, possessed of limitless warmth and vitality; singing of the drudgery of work and the glory of war; of love as fresh and sweet as morning; of the watches women keep for the return of loved ones from the eternal sea; singing of the loneliness of death, and all manner of strange phantasies unnamed and unknown singers wove around it; and singing the great, good-humored, raucous songs that have made people laugh over the centuries.

A rewarding evening indeed. Dyer-Bennet sang two of his own ballads, full of honest anti-fascist indignation, including his setting of Alexander Nevsky's ringing speech:

"He who comes to Russia as a guest shall remain as a guest, but he who comes with the sword shall perish by the sword."

Dyer-Bennet's tenor can sound fiery and large, as it did in this and a few other ballads; or it can be delicate and barely audible, in songs of longing, grief, or wonder.

It was interesting to note his utilization of the lute accompaniment as a dynamic entity. Like the minstrels of old, he varies the accompaniment of a song from performance to performance. "Waltzing Mathilda" as he sang it at the concert was appreciably different from his own recorded version.

MARK TAYLOR.

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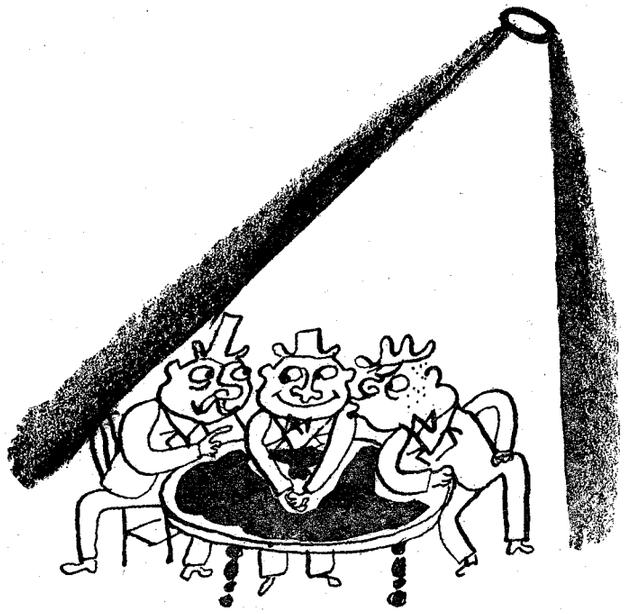

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